EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS

VOL. IV.

LETTERS

RECEIVED BY THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY

From its Servants in the East

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE 'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE'
SERIES OF THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS

VOL. IV

1616

EDITED BY

WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A.

Editor of 'The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19.'
Joint Editor of 'The Register of Letters of the E. India Co., 1600-19'

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HER MAJESTY'S
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA IN COUNCIL

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & COMPANY
LIMITED
St. Dunstan's House
FETTER LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

1900.

CONTENTS

APPENDIX

INTRODUCTION

THE documents printed in the present volume cover the calendar year 1616. It was a period of varying fortunes for the Company's settlements, but on the whole one of hopeful effort rather than of assured success. From some factories we hear of satisfactory profits and a favourable outlook; but these are exceptions, and from the majority come complaints of slack demands for English goods, with urgent calls for more money—'the only staff of these Eastern trades' (p. 244)—if cargoes are to be provided for England. In one respect the date marks a turning point in the Company's history; for with the Dutch conquest of Pulo Ai and the curtailment of the English privileges in Japan commenced that gradual decline of English power in the countries east of the Bay of Bengal, which was to end in the practical abandonment of that part of the world to the merchants of Holland, while on the other side of the Bay began that steady development of British commerce which was destined to provide such ample compensation for this loss. To 1616 belong not only the foundation by Roe of English influence at the Mogul court, but also the despatch of the first trading ship to a Persian port and the first permanent settlement on the Coromandel coast.

At the beginning of the year the ships of the 1615 fleet were swinging idly at anchor in Swally Hole. Only one of their number—the *Lion*—was to be despatched to England

with the cargo of indigo and piece-goods which the factors were slowly collecting; yet the others must wait to lend her their countenance and escort her beyond the reach of the Goa and Diu flotillas. By the middle of February, however, all was ready, and it only remained for Keeling, in virtue of his position as 'Factor-General and Supervisor of the Factories and Merchants in the East India and all other parts and places belonging to their trade,' to revise the Company's establishments and to assign to each factor his appropriate station. On February 18 a consultation was held 'on the sands in the road of Swally,' at which it was determined that the factories in the Mogul's dominions should be four in number: Ahmadábád, of which John Brown was to be chief; Burhánpúr, placed under Nicholas Bangham; Ajmere and Agra, grouped together as the Court factory, under William Biddulph; and finally Surat, the head of which, Thomas Kerridge, was also to be 'principal factor' over the whole four, as well as over any further settlements that might be established in the same parts. Kerridge thus succeeded to the position left vacant by the death of Aldworth, and it was decided that he should receive the same salary as his predecessor (Kerridge's Letter-book: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366).

These matters being settled, Keeling gave the signal for departure. On February 19 the fleet set sail; and on the following day the *Lion* quitted her consorts and steered Capewards on her way to England.[1] Passing down the Malabar coast, Keeling secured three Portuguese prizes, and paid a visit to the Zamorin of Calicut, with whom he concluded an agreement resulting in the establishment of a short-lived factory in his dominions (p. 64). After rounding Ceylon, the fleet separated, Peyton in the *Expedition* heading for Priaman

[1] She carried home five passengers: Edwards, the late Agent at Ajmere; that militant cleric, the Rev. Peter Rogers; Richard Barber, an apothecary, who was the last survivor of the English suite taken out by Sherley in 1613; Nicholas Withington; and Bailey Ball. (Peyton's Journal: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276).

and Tiku, while the General himself, with the *Dragon* and *Peppercorn*, stood away for Achin.

The information available regarding the events of Keeling's stay at the latter port is exceedingly scanty. He appears to have presented a letter from King James, written in answer to one brought home by Captain Best (vol. i., p. 271), and to have made application for a fresh grant of privileges, which should include the right of trading at Tiku. The Sultan was not altogether willing that English ships should go straight to the pepper ports without calling at Achin; but at last, in consideration of the royal letter, and in hopes of receiving 'ten mastiff dogs and ten bitches, with a great gun wherein a man may sit upright' (p. 125), he granted the desired permission for a period of two years (p. 126). Before sailing, Keeling re-organized the English factory at Achin, leaving William Nichols in charge, with two assistants and a stock of merchandise.

On July 26 Keeling reached Tiku, where he found the *Expedition*. Owing to the strength of the current that sweeps down the western side of Sumatra, Peyton had failed in his first attempt to reach that port, and had been forced to bear up for Bantam, which was reached on the first of May; a second venture, however, had proved more successful, and on June 10 he had anchored off Priaman, moving to Tiku on the 18th. The royal letter brought by Keeling from Achin was received by the local officials with much show of respect; but, as before, the English found them turbulent and over-reaching, and great difficulty was experienced in arriving at an agreement regarding the terms on which pepper should be bartered for the calicoes brought by the fleet. The Gujarátí traders, too, by no means relished English competition, and 'the chief merchant of their family' had recourse to a ruse which threatened to have serious consequences for the factors; 'but God,' adds Millward piously, 'prevented him; for within two days after, his house, together with many other of his

associates, were burnt down to the ground' (p. 93). Pepper, however, came in but slowly, and as the presence of three English ships would only enhance its price, Keeling sailed on August 5 for Bantam, and Peyton followed on the 11th of the next month, leaving the *Peppercorn* to complete her lading.

At Bantam the year had broken in unmitigated gloom. The trade of the town was hasting to swift decay; many of the principal Chinese merchants had left, and those who remained were heavily in debt to the English or the Dutch. In the English factory men were scarce, the stock of money was low, and there was little prospect of more being obtained—at all events from the sale of goods. The Pangeran (Protector), who was the real ruler of the country, was suspicious of the negotiations which Jourdain was carrying on with the King of the neighbouring state of Jacatra, fearing that they would result in the transfer of the English headquarters to his rival's territory; while the Dutch, incensed by English proceedings in the Bandas, were uncompromisingly hostile, and were doing their utmost to damage and embarrass their quondam allies. To add to their anxieties, all the first part of the year the English (like their Dutch neighbours) were dreading an attack from a large Portugo-Spanish armada (p. 146; see also vol. iii., p. 114). In the preceding summer the Viceroy of Goa had despatched four galleons to the aid of Juan de Silva, the energetic Governor of the Philippines, who had formed far-reaching plans for the destruction of the Protestant settlements in Java and elsewhere. As a matter of fact, the Portuguese squadron got no farther than Malacca, where, after losing one of their number in a fierce conflict with the Achinese flotilla described in the last volume, they were attacked and destroyed (December, 1615) by a Dutch fleet under Van der Haghen; and when, some three months later, De Silva made his appearance in the Straits of Singapore, it was only to find that the expected reinforcement had ceased to exist. After a short illness, caused, it was said, by disappointment at the frustration of his plans, he

died at Malacca in April, 1616, and his successor took the fleet back to Manilla. The news of the failure of his enterprise, however, spread but slowly, and as late as the end of July we find the Bantam factors still expecting an attack, and the Dutch President (Koen) 'busking along this coast a place whereon to fortify for his own and people's safety' (p. 147).

When, therefore, Keeling reached Bantam (in the latter part of September) there was plenty of scope for his energies. The Company had hoped much from him, and had given him powers far more extensive than had been entrusted to any of his predecessors. At the instance of Best, who told them that their trade would never be well managed until they had, like the Dutch, a resident chief supervising the whole of their factories (Court Minutes, June 29, 1614), they had appointed Keeling to stay in the East for five years, either at Bantam or Jacatra, with absolute control (subject to the advice of his council) over their ships and servants in all parts of the East.[1] But he had no heart in the work, and his chief aim seems to have been to get back as speedily as possible to the wife he had left behind him. At the time of his de-

[1] The instructions actually given to Keeling appear nowhere among the Company's records; but there can be little doubt, I think, that the undated and mutilated fragment contained in British Museum *Cotton MSS.*, *Otho*, vol. viii. (ff. 254–263), is a portion of a copy. Amongst other things, the person to whom the commission is addressed, is ordered to 'choose four principal places where the chief persons ought to be resident, viz., Suratt, Coromandell, Bantam, Patania; to which principal persons in those four places you may give [the] name of Agents, Directors, Consuls, or such like. The government of him in Surrat should stretch over all the country of the Great Mogore, as Surratt itself, Cambaia, Barocha, Amadavar, Agra, Lahor, and the places thereabouts. He of Coromandell should have command over those factories that shall be planted in Narsinga. He of Bantam should have his command over Sumatra, Java, Succadana, Macassar, unto the Mulluccos. And the command of him at Patania to stretch over Siam, Camboja, Cochinchina, Japon, Borneo, and the places thereabouts. And if a factor[y] be also to be planted at Mocha, there likewise to be a chief head.' The fragment concludes with an interesting account of trade on the Coromandel coast, in Bengal and Pegu, seemingly derived from the reports of Peter Floris.

In the *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, 1513–1616, p. 300, this document is conjecturally assigned to 1614, with a suggestion that its contents were addressed to Jourdain.

parture he had pleaded earnestly to be allowed to take her with him, and for a time his employers had wavered. The question was debated at great length, and 'some approved of the motion, supposing it to be very fitting in regard of the quiet of his mind and good of his soul . . . and as a curse befalleth those that keep man and wife asunder, so this Company cannot but expect a blessing in giving way for them to continue together' (Court Minutes, Nov. 8, 1614); but in the end it was decided that such a course could not be permitted. In spite of this, Keeling managed to smuggle her aboard his vessel just before his departure, and he was only induced to put her ashore again by threats of summary dismissal. From the Cape he wrote 'wonderful many arguments and requests to have his wife sent unto him, or to permit him to come home in what fashion soever' (vol. ii., p. 190); and the Court at last gave an unwilling assent to his return. On October 8, 1616, a consultation was held at Bantam,[1] when it was decided that he should take home the *Dragon*, and that Peyton should keep him company in the *Expedition*. To complete the lading of these two ships, the *Hector* was emptied of her pepper, and she was sent to Jacatra to careen.[2] Jourdain, who had been disappointed the previous year of his intended return to England (vol. iii., p. xxvi.), was to follow Keeling in the *Clove;* and George Berkeley, the principal merchant of the 1615 fleet, was made chief of the Bantam factory. In accordance with these arrangements, Keeling sailed on October 10, and Peyton three days later. The despatch of these two vessels appears to have exhausted the resources of the factory, and it was not until December 14 that the *Clove* put to sea on her homeward voyage, with Jourdain on board.

[1] Peyton's Journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276).

[2] There she was declared to be past repair and was broken up. She had certainly a long record of service, having been in the First, Second, Third, and Eighth Separate Voyages, and finally in Downton's voyage for the Joint Stock. Moreover, she was not a new ship when the Company bought her (1600). Thomas Dallam sailed in her to Constantinople in 1599, with an organ intended for a present to the Grand Signor (*Voyages to the Levant*, Hakluyt Society, 1892).

Of the factories dependent on Bantam, Japan is dealt with on a later page: Patani and Siam require no special notice: and the attempt to settle a permanent factory at Masulipatam, on the Coromandel Coast, is described in the letter from Antheunis printed on p. 28.

We must now turn our attention to the Moluccas, and more especially to the Banda group, the unhappy natives of which were paying dearly for the possession of the spices so fiercely coveted by the nations of Europe. As related in the last volume, Sophony Cozuck had in September, 1615, left two Englishmen with a small stock of merchandise at Pulo Ai, and had brought to Bantam a Bandanese chief with a letter appealing for assistance against the Dutch, in consideration of which the islanders offered a monopoly of the spice trade to the English; the Bantam factors, however, had avoided committing themselves to any active measures of support 'without orders from England,' and had merely promised to send a ship for trading purposes, 'and some to confer with the Orancayas' (vol. iii., pp. xxxiv., 336). In fulfilment of this promise, and in spite of a warning issued by Koen that all English ships found in the Moluccas would be impounded as trespassers, Jourdain in December, 1615, prepared a small squadron for despatch to the Bandas, consisting of the *Thomas*, the *Concord*, and a pinnace called the *Speedwell*. Just as they were ready to start (December 29) two fresh ships, the *Clove* and *Defence*, arrived from England under Samuel Castleton, sent, it would seem, for the express purpose of a trading venture to the Spice Islands. Probably the factors would have preferred that the expedition should be commanded by one of themselves, but they could not ignore Castleton's claims. It was judged best, therefore, to put under his orders the vessels already prepared; and the fleet thus formed, after a short stay at Jacatra, set sail on January 20 for its destination.

Regarding Castleton's previous history we have little information. He is first heard of in 1611–13, when he commanded an interloping vessel, called the *Pearl*, in a voyage to Sumatra and

Ceylon. His adventure nearly had a fatal termination, for while watering at St. Helena on his homeward way, he was surprised by two Portuguese carracks, and was forced to cut his cable and put to sea, leaving his water casks and half his men on shore. Two Dutch ships under Jan Dirckszoon Lam had only just left, and Castleton, hastening after them, begged their assistance. Lam at once turned back and assailed the Portuguese vessels. He was beaten off, with the loss of one of his ships; but meanwhile Castleton had recovered most of his men, and with Lam's assistance he managed to reach England in safety. There the ship and goods were promptly sequestrated on the complaint of the Spanish Ambassador, who asserted that Castleton had robbed the subjects of his master; and although the unfortunate Captain cleared himself from this charge, he failed to get his cargo out of the clutches of the law.[1] The Company, moved partly by pity for his distresses and partly by a wish to keep him from repeating his experiment, found him employment in the preparation of their shipping. To some of his suggestions (which included a plan for distilling fresh water from salt) they lent a willing ear; but for a long time they steadfastly refused to listen to his repeated applications for employment in the East. At last, however, they gave way, induced in great measure by persistent rumours of a fresh interloping expedition, in which Castleton was to be employed; and in April 1615 he was put in command of the two ships already mentioned and despatched to Bantam.

The instructions he now received for his further voyage to the Moluccas are unfortunately not to be found; but in Jourdain's letter on p. 67 we are told that he was directed to proceed to Macassar to take in the necessary supply of rice and then to make the best of his way to the Bandas, afterwards visiting Amboyna, Tidore, and the neighbouring ports. With him were associated George Ball (who had commanded the *Concord* in the expedition of the previous year), John Bailey, Sophony Cozuck, and Hugh Greet.

[1] See an interesting broadsheet (undated) in the Guildhall Library ('Petition to Parliament of the Adventurers in the Ship called the *Pearl*').

Pulo Ai was reached on the 2nd of March, and the Bandanese envoy was put ashore. It was a critical moment, for a strong Dutch force was gathering at Neira[1] to renew the attack which had failed the previous year. On the 11th the Dutch fleet, numbering nine large ships and a sloop, put to sea and plied for Pulo Ai, with the determination to repeat the lesson of the previous year and to oblige their rivals to quit the scene, by menaces if possible, and, if not, by more forcible means. Next day a council was held on board the English admiral, and it was resolved to 'stand the coming of the Hollanders.' On the 13th, when the Dutch ships had approached within a league and a half, a second council was held, at which the English decided to 'cut their hawsers and let slip their cables and to go out and meet the Hollanders.'[2] Both sides prepared for battle. Four of the Dutch ships, working to windward, seized the weathergage; the remainder spread to leeward, to intercept the English in that direction. But the latter soon recognised that their opponents were in overwhelming force, and that a contest could have but one termination. The four ships which, with the little pinnace, composed the English squadron, were not only undermanned (cp. vol. iii., p. 276) but in bad condition; in fact, one of their number, the *Thomas*, was under orders to proceed to Japan to refit (p. 68): a second, the *Concord*, was shortly afterwards laid up, as being too 'rotten and leaky' to be of any further service: and the remaining two had been at sea almost continuously for a year. On the other hand, the Dutch had nine good ships and a large force, not only of sailors but of soldiers,

[1] See the map on p. xxxii. of vol. iii.

[2] These facts are taken from the sworn depositions made in the Admiralty Court in 1618 by several merchants and sailors who had been present on the occasion (*Factory Records: Java*, vol. ii., pt. ii.). The only other materials from the English side are the two documents given on pp. 72–75 of the present volume, and some scattered references in *Purchas*. For the Dutch version see Adriaen van der Dussen's letter to the Bewindhebbers in July, 1616, given in Tiele's *Opkomst van het Nederl. Gezag*, 2nd series, pt. i., p. 132; Van der Chijs's *Vestiging van het Nederl. Gezag over de Banda Eilanden*, pp. 80, 81; and Tiele's *Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel*, pt. 8, pp. 176, 177.

intended for the conquest of Pulo Ai; and they had the additional advantage of a strong base of operations in the fortress of Nassau on the island of Neira. Castleton saw that resistance was hopeless, and that the only thing to be done was to make the best terms possible. Hailing the nearest Dutch vessel, he inquired who was in command of the fleet. The answer was: Jan Dirckszoon Lam—the captain to whose timely assistance Castleton, as already related, had been so deeply indebted on his previous voyage. This made conciliatory proceedings the more easy. Castleton and Ball hastened on board Lam's ship, where the former greeted the Dutch commander with effusion, and declared that he had come to make good the obligation he was under. The negotiations appear, however, to have been prolonged, for it was not until three days later (March 16, O.S.) that an agreement was reached. Castleton signed a declaration that he had in no way assisted the people of Pulo Ai; and the Dutch undertook that if the English remained neutral in the coming struggle, their factors should not be interfered with, and, in the event of the Dutch succeeding, should be allowed to quit the island with their goods in a pinnace left for this purpose by Castleton (p. 72).[1] This compact signed and delivered, the English commander issued instructions to Richard Hunt, the Company's factor on Pulo Ai, to observe strict neutrality in the coming contest and, should the Dutch conquer the island, 'presently to get your goods aboard and come away' (p. 74). On the same day the English fleet sailed away to the West, exchanging friendly salutes with the Dutch as they passed.

Thus abandoned to their fate, the natives of Pulo Ai were at a loss what to do. Hopeless of success in resisting the expected onslaught, they decided as a last resource, and in spite of the fact that their overtures for an alliance had been practically rejected,

[1] Dr. Gardiner, in his account of this incident (*History*, vol. iii., p. 167), has unwittingly done the Dutch an injustice. He describes the agreement as providing that if successful they 'would share the trade with the English,' a promise which, he says, they afterwards failed to keep. It will be seen from the actual text of the document (now first printed) that no pledge of this sort was given.

to invoke the shelter of the British flag. A formal surrender of the two islands of Pulo Ai and Pulo Run was made to Hunt—who acted throughout in flagrant disobedience to his instructions—and English colours were hoisted on the fortifications. But this availed them nothing. On March 27 (O.S.) the Dutch landed in force, and beat down all resistance. The greater part of the natives abandoned their homes and fled to Pulo Run; the remainder submitted. A fresh treaty was entered into, and a strong castle, named Fort Revenge, was built to secure their future obedience. Richard Hunt fled with the natives and managed at last to reach Bantam, 'bringing with him the earth of the country, sticks and stones, delivered him in sign of possession.'[1] The pinnace which Castleton had left in Neira road was allowed by the Dutch to depart to Bantam with her cargo of spices.

From Pulo Ai, Castleton proceeded to Loehoe, on Ceram; but finding a Dutch squadron on guard there, he betook himself to the Moluccas proper. Reael, the Dutch governor, succeeded in preventing the natives from selling cloves to the English commander, but could not hinder him from exchanging rice for spices at the Spanish fortress of Tidore. He protested violently, but, finding Castleton defiant, took no steps to compel him to desist. Death, however, relieved him shortly of his opponent's presence,[2] and the English ships, having lost their commander,

[1] Jourdain's journal in the British Museum (*Sloane MS.* 858, f. 106*b*). See also his account of the surrender of the islands to the English; and cp. *Purchas*, vol. i., pp. 609, 701.

The view taken above—that the delivery of the islands to Hunt was made after Castleton's departure—is based on the statements in the second 'surrender' (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 701). that it took place 'before the surprise of Pooloway, eight days' [*i.e.*, about March 19], and that it was done 'when Captain Castleton went from Pooloway with four ships.' It has usually been said that the transaction took place soon after Castleton's arrival, but the only authority I can find for this statement is in the account given by Van der Dussen, in which Castleton is represented as saying that the Bandanese had surrendered their territory to the English and hoisted the English flag in spite of his disapproval. This assertion, however, does not carry much weight, and the balance of probability is in the other direction.

[2] Cocks (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 269) mentions an absurd rumour that Castleton was poisoned by the Spaniards on account of his partiality for the Dutch. Peyton (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 533) says he died of the flux.

straggled back to Bantam, with the exception of the *Thomas*, which, as previously arranged, went on to Japan.

To all appearance Pulo Ai was irrevocably lost. But there were islands in the group which still maintained a precarious independence, and in one or other of these Jourdain and his colleagues might hope to secure a footing. Acquiescence in the Dutch monopoly seemed to them out of the question; it would spell ruin for English trade at Bantam, and would deprive the East India Company of the most lucrative branch of their commerce (cp. vol. iii., p. 338). Something must be done, and done at once to checkmate their opponents' designs; and the most promising course appeared to be to act upon the surrender made, as already narrated, to Richard Hunt, and to send a fresh expedition which should occupy Pulo Run in the name of King James, and lay formal claim to Pulo Ai. With the help of the natives, and under the shelter of the British flag, the factors hoped to hold at least Pulo Run until diplomacy should have time to get to work. In the East the disproportion between the forces of the contending parties was too great for the English to expect success in any active measures of hostility; but at Westminster or the Hague, with the support of the home government, they might hope that a solution favourable to their interests would be reached. In any case they would have done their duty to their employers and to their Sovereign by making good their footing in the disputed territory, and claiming what they believed to be their rights.

Only two ships were now available—the *Defence*, of 300 tons, which had been one of the four vessels of Castleton's fleet, and the *Swan*, a new ship of 400 tons, which had been detached at the Cape from the 1616 fleet and had reached Bantam in the autumn. Of these Nathaniel Courthope took command, with Sophony Cozuck, Thomas Spurway, and Richard Hunt as his principal assistants. His commission (drawn evidently by Jourdain, and signed by him, Berkeley, Ball, and Coppindall) is given on p. 215. After calling at Macassar for rice and other

goods, he was to proceed direct to Pulo Run. There he was to make inquiry as to the relations between the Dutch and the natives, and to induce the latter 'to ratify under their hands and seals the former surrender, if lawfully made; if not, then to make a new surrender of all or part of such islands as are yet under their own commands and at their own dispose, leaving out those where the Flemings are possessed and have command.' Nothing was to be attempted against Pulo Ai, though, if the surrender were found to be good, the Dutch were to be notified of the English claim. Should the inhabitants of Lontor and Rosengijn be willing to put themselves in like manner under English protection, a formal agreement was to be drawn to that effect. If the natives of Pulo Run should so request, guns were to be landed for their defence; and should the Dutch 'offer violence to the countries of our sovereign lord the King, or to the ships, goods or persons of his subjects, you are to the utmost of your power, even to the loss of lives and goods, to make good the same' (p. 218).

Armed with these instructions, Courthope put to sea, and on December 23rd[1] the two ships anchored off Pulo Run. Next day the native chiefs came on board, and a conference was held. Asked 'whether they had made any contract with the Hollanders and given them any surrender, they all replied they had not, nor never would'; and they assured the English factors that Pulo Ai had been regularly surrendered to 'the King's Majesty of England' before the Dutch attack. Writings were 'drawn and confirmed by the principals of Pulo Run and Pulo Ai,' who 'at the same instant delivered us a nutmeg tree with the fruits thereon in the earth, with other fruits and a living goat.'[2] The English colours were hoisted and saluted; and six pieces of ordnance were landed and two batteries constructed in order

[1] Courthope's Journal as given in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 664); also the letter in British Museum *Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 26. Spurway (*vide infra*) gives the date as Dec. 13.

[2] Spurway's account in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 608). The 'surrender' is given at p. 701 of the same volume.

to meet the attack which it was expected would be made as soon as the Dutch at Neira should learn what had taken place. Thus matters stood at the close of 1616.

In Japan the year saw a significant change in the position of the English and other foreign traders. By the middle of June, after some months of conflicting rumours, it was known for certain at Hirado (Firando) that Iyeyasu had breathed his last; and with him expired the privileges which Saris had obtained for his fellow countrymen, mainly owing to Iyeyasu's regard for William Adams. It was necessary that an embassy should be sent to solicit a fresh grant from his son and successor,[1] and this duty would of course fall to the agent himself. Cocks, however, would gladly have evaded the troublesome task. For a time he was in hopes that Keeling would make his appearance in Japan and undertake the mission; and when this expectation proved futile, he still lingered on the excuse that Captain Adams' presence would be desirable. At last the Captain's arrival from Siam took away all pretext for further delay, and Cocks reluctantly embarked with him on July 30. Osaka was reached on August 5, and thence the party a week later proceeded overland to the capital. Arriving at Jeddo on August 27, Cocks put up at Captain Adams' house, which soon after was nearly shaken about his ears by a violent shock of earthquake. Five days later the factors were admitted to the Shogun's presence, where 'he sat alone upon a place something rising with one step, and had a silk *catabra* of a bright blue on his back. He sat upon the mats cross-legged, like a tailor; and . . . none . . . might not enter into the room where he sat' (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 169). Then followed a long period of delay, of waiting on great men with presents, and constant conferences

[1] Hidetada, who had been nominally Shogun from 1605, though the real administration of the country remained in the hands of his father.

From the accession of the new ruler appears to date the rise of Jeddo, which had been for some time his residence. 'They have greatly augmented the city,' writes Wickham (p. 138), 'which is and will be within this twelve months twice as big as it was the last year.'

with officials. At last, on the 23rd of the month, the new grant of privileges was received. With characteristic carelessness Cocks omitted to ascertain the contents of the document handed to him, and it was only on the receipt of an alarming message from Wickham, four days after his departure from Jeddo, that he got the grant translated. He was astonished to find that Wickham's fears were justified, and that the new grant differed materially from the old one, inasmuch as, for the future, 'we were restrained to have our shipping to go to no other place in Japan but Firando, and there to make sales.'[1]

He at once hastened back to Court and 'stayed 18 or 20 days more, still suing and putting up supplications to have our privileges enlarged as before . . . yet for all this I could get nothing but words. Whereupon I desired to have the old privileges returned and to render back the new, with condition they would give us three years' respite to write into England and have answer whether our King's Majesty would be content our privileges should be so shortened or no; yet they would not grant me that.' Hopes were held out that a more favourable reply might be given if the petition were renewed the following year; and in a letter to the Daimyo of Hirado permission was given to the English to trade at Nagasaki (which had for many years been opened to foreign trade, especially from Macao) as well as at Hirado (*Diary*, vol. i., pp. 215, 316). It was necessary, however, to withdraw all the factors from Jeddo, Miako, Osaka, and Sakai, and henceforward Hirado became the sole station of the English in Japan.

This curtailment of the privileges formerly granted to the English seems to have been the result of the general reaction against foreigners and foreign influence which characterised the policy of the reigning Shogun and his advisers. A bitter persecution of the Catholic missionaries and their converts had for some time been going on—'here is boards set up in every

[1] Cocks's letters in *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 280. A translation of the fresh grant will be found at p. 140 of the present volume.

street,' writes Cocks from Jeddo (p. 171), 'with very strict order for bringing them to light, and utter ruin to them and their posterity that shall conceal them'—and the English and Dutch were suspected of being really of the same form of faith as the subjects of King Philip. Whilst the new privileges were under debate the Council sent to Cocks 'above twenty times to know whether the English nation were Christians or no' (*Diary*, vol. ii., p. 280). It was thought also that the representation of certain Japanese merchants had exercised some influence on the decision, and this appears probable from the reply made to Captain Adams when in the following year he sought in vain the restoration of the old advantages. He was told that 'the Emperor would give our English nation no larger privileges than other strangers have, only to sell our merchandise at Firando and Langasaque (Nagasaki). The reason he doth it is for that his own merchants of Japan shall have the profit of selling within land before strangers, as also that under colour of buying and selling, no priests may lurk up and down his country to alter religion, as heretofore they have done' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 312).

Commercially, the position of the factory was not encouraging. It is true that in the summer two English ships arrived at Hirado—the *Thomas* on June 22, and the *Advice* three weeks later; but the goods they brought were mostly unsuitable for the Japanese market, including as they did a quantity of 'Lime Street, Pope's Head Alley, and Bartholomew ware,' as one letter phrases it (p. 183), and buyers were few. What particularly annoyed Cocks was that, owing to Saris's sanguine reports, 'the Worshipful Company expect great matter from the factory in Japan, and money to furnish Bantam and other factories in the Indies without sending any more out of England' (p. 117). In their letters, he says, 'they urge nothing but money, money'; and money was just the hardest thing to get, or at least to keep. 'I ensure you,' wrote Cocks in December to the factor at Patani, 'I am aweary of the place;

and were it not for extraordinary hope to get trade into [China], I would rather depart from hence to-night than tarry till to-[morrow]' (p. 258). The one bright spot in the prospect was the success of the venture to Siam. As noted in the last volume, the *Sea Adventure* had been sent thither in December 1615, under the charge of Captain Adams and Edmund Sayers. She returned towards the end of July with a lading of sapan wood and deer-skins, which sold readily at very remunerative prices. Moreover, Sayers had been able with the money at his disposal, after filling the *Sea Adventure*, to charter two native junks, in one of which he embarked himself. After a terrible voyage, in the course of which he himself was forced to act as pilot, he reached Satsuma on September 17. The other junk lost the monsoon and was forced to winter in Camboja, but got safely to Japan in June of the following year. This profitable venture enabled Cocks to spend a large sum in trimming and freighting the *Thomas* and *Advice* for the return voyage to Bantam; and on December 21 the *Sea Adventure* was despatched once more to Siam, William Eaton being in charge.

Relations with the Dutch factors at Hirado continued on a fairly amicable footing, though in March Cocks was much angered at the presumption of Captain Speck, who thrust in before him when they were both waiting on the Daimyo of Satsuma (p. 75). The Dutch seem to have been more successful in sales than the English, largely owing to their greater care in selecting suitable goods and the more merchant-like way in which these were packed. The English complained too, that their competitors spoiled the market by selling at a cheap rate the spoils which resulted from their piracies upon Chinese junks; and Eaton suggested (p. 266) that the English might do well to follow this example.

It is worth noting that the Dutch made extensive use of Hirado as a depôt for the war they were carrying on in the Moluccas, procuring thence not only provisions and munitions of war, but also 'succours of men both for sea and land as they

please, being a desperate, warlike people and ready to adventure for good pay' (p. 47). A futile attempt on the part of the Japanese to conquer Formosa is referred to at pp. 49, 130.

Early in the year the permanent staff in Japan was strengthened by the addition of John Osterwick, previously purser's mate in the *Osiander*. Several of his letters are included in the present volume, and he seems to have been an active and business-like member of the factory. Of the older men, Wickham, who was employed chiefly at Osaka and Miako, was discontented with his position and privileges, and inclined to take the earliest opportunity of leaving the country. At p. 134 we have a furious letter from him to Cocks, complaining that he has been 'taunted and misused both in word and action. . . . both by yourself and others,' and 'wronged by the malicious reports and slander of such as in all honesty ought to more love.' 'Every worm desires to live and if it be trodden on it will turn again'; and should not better treatment be forthcoming, 'for my part I would I were in heaven.' In May some anxiety was caused by an unfortunate incident at Akunora, a little town near Nagasaki, whither Nealson had been sent to buy timber for the new godown Cocks was building. A trifling dispute brought about a scuffle, in the course of which Nealson fatally injured a Japanese sailor from Higo. He was seized and imprisoned by the local authorities, and threats were freely used that he should be put to death; but Cocks promptly claimed that under the Emperor's grant the English were not amenable to Japanese tribunals, and after some delay Eaton was released. His native attendant, however, was made the scapegoat and lost his head, on the plea that he had 'begun the bruit.' 'All,' said Cocks indignantly, 'was about a piece of straw-cord not worth a farthing' (*Diary*, vol. i. p. 136).[1]

[1] One cannot omit, in dealing with the English factory at Hirado, to call attention to the very interesting article contributed to the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* by Dr. Ludwig Riess in 1898. Dr. Riess carefully examined the extant records both in the India Office and British Museum, and he has been able, moreover, to throw fresh light on the subject from Japanese official documents

The publication last year by the Hakluyt Society of a complete account of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to India renders it unnecessary to say more than will suffice to explain the seven letters from his pen which appear in the present volume. The year opened full of promise for the English envoy, whose gracious reception at Court (described by him at length on p. 10) was followed by the issue of orders which redressed the more urgent of the factors' grievances. *Zúlfikár* Khán was recalled in disgrace from the government of Surat, and Roe succeeded, though with some difficulty, in recovering from him the greater part of his exactions. The amount was not a large one; but the example was of the highest importance. That the favourite servant of Jahángír's favourite son should be punished in this manner was a salutary warning to other governors to give no just cause of complaint to the English merchants.

The ambassador next proceeded to carry out the main object of his mission, namely, to obtain from the Emperor a formal grant of privileges. Such a grant had been the end and aim of English diplomacy from the time when the Company's servants first set foot in India. Hawkins had waited long at Court in hopes of obtaining it; Best imagined, though erroneously,[1] that he had procured it, and his supposed success gained him for a time much favour in the eyes of the home authorities; Canning, Kerridge, Edwards—all had in turn essayed to win the imperial sanction to the Company's trade, and all had failed. But what had been refused to 'mere merchants' would, it was hoped, be conceded to a special envoy from the English monarch, and it was with great confidence of success that Roe submitted (March 26, 1616) the draft of a treaty between the Mogul and King James, which was designed to secure for the English full liberty of trade in all parts of the former's dominions, and

[1] See vol. ii., introduction, p. xxi., and Kerridge's statements on pp. 311–313 of the present volume. From the latter it appears that the English never saw the Persian rendering of the agreement, and that its validity was denied both at the Court and at Ahmadábád.

to ensure them freedom from the extortions which had discouraged them in the past.

To this proposal no objection was made at the time; and indeed Ásaf Khán, to whom the draft treaty was referred by the Mogul, encouraged Roe to believe that it would be agreed to without difficulty. But, apart from other obstacles (and they were not a few) the suggested treaty had to encounter the strong, though veiled, opposition of Prince Khurram, the future Emperor Sháh Jahán. Khurram was at this time in high favour with Jahángír; while through his wife he had gained the support of her father, the powerful minister Ásaf Khán, and of her aunt, the Empress Núr Mahál, whose influence over Jahángír was complete. Already he was looked upon by many as the destined successor to the throne; and he was careful to maintain by every means at his disposal the appearance of power which in the East is so large an ingredient of success. He 'sits out in the same state as his father,' writes Roe (p. 15), 'having a kingdom'; and throughout the ambassador's diary he complains of the Prince's arrogance and haughtiness. But while maintaining this show of pride (which, said Roe, was 'such as may teach Lucifer') Khurram was well aware of the insecurity of his position. Khusrú, his eldest brother, still lived, though since his rebellion (1606) he had been kept a close prisoner; and not only was he more popular than Khurram, but Jahángír himself at times showed a reawakening of affection towards his firstborn which roused strong hopes in the breasts of Khusrú's partisans. Parwíz, the second son, was drunken and incapable; but he was in command of the army and moreover might perhaps count upon the support of powerful and able chiefs like Mahábat Khán and Mirzá Abdurrahím, whose dislike to Khurram was notorious. In these circumstances the latter was all the more ready to oppose any encroachment upon his prerogatives. Surat was his own property and its administration was a matter for him and for him alone.[1] He was not prepared

[1] Jahángír took the same view, and told Roe that 'he had entrusted the place to his son and did not meddle' (p. 204).

to deny the English permission to trade (though of the two nations his sympathies were rather with their rivals the Portuguese), but they must depend upon his favour and not upon any grant from his father; while to any extension of their trade he was opposed, mainly perhaps because he feared that access to ports in Bengal and Sind would diminish the revenue from the Surat customs. To these considerations may be added an element of personal ill-will on the part of Khurram towards the English representative, who had not only procured the disgrace of the Prince's favourite, but had upon more than one occasion openly and successfully opposed the Prince himself.

For months, however, Roe was beguiled by promises of compliance with his wishes; and it was not until the beginning of September that he learned, to his surprise and vexation, that these promises were mere delusions. 'I received my Articles back from Asaph Chan,' he wrote in his journal, 'who took now at last many exceptions, and margined them with his pen in most insolent sort, scorning that any man should article at all; saying it was sufficient for me to receive a firmaen from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and for licence to trade at any other port, of Bengala or Syndu, it should never be granted.' As the minister 'in conclusion pretended the length and form to be such as would offend the King,' Roe made a second attempt to obtain the desired concessions in the form of a *farmán* to be accorded by Jahángír; but Ásaf Khán replied in a peremptory manner that 'absolutely he would procure nothing sealed that any way concerned the Prince's government; that I (Roe) should only expect from him what we desired, whose firmaens were sufficient.' Obviously, nothing could be done, at least for the present, in the face of such opposition; and Roe determined therefore to wait, in hope either that the Prince's power might decrease or that he might be conciliated and induced 'to effect that . . . . which himself hath crossed and resisted.'

Not a single letter from Surat occurs in the O.C. series during the period under review; but fortunately the factors'

letter-book for 1616–17 has survived (*Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv. pt. i.), and the five letters which we have extracted from this (see Appendix, Nos. I, III, V–VII), together with the references in Roe's journal and letters, give a fairly complete account of the course of affairs in that city during this eventful year.

Reference has already been made to the appointment of Kerridge in February, 1616, as chief of Surat and its dependent factories, and to the departure of Keeling's fleet in the middle of February. The next event of importance appears to have been the arrival (July 23) of a Dutch vessel, the *Nassau*, commanded by Pieter van den Broecke. The factors, much disturbed by the prospect of competition from this quarter, did their best to induce the local authorities to refuse permission to the establishment of a Dutch factory; and Roe backed up their efforts by representations at Court. But all was to no purpose. The natives knew well that the Dutch would make the refusal a pretext for retaliation upon Gujarátí shipping, and a grudging assent was therefore accorded. Van den Broecke landed a stock of merchandise, with a factor and three assistants to look after it, and the *Nassau* sailed for Bantam on August 30.

Ibráhím Khán, who had been appointed Governor of Surat upon the recall of Zúlfikár Khán, was most anxious to avoid the fate of his predecessor, and did his best, therefore, to conciliate the English merchants. This policy, however, found powerful opponents in the Díwán and Sháhbandar, who, backed up by the more fanatical portion of the populace, complained loudly (and not without reason) of the misbehaviour of the sailors of the fleet, and created disturbances which threatened to have serious consequences. One such tumult, caused by the erection on the factory of a weather-vane bearing the sign of the cross, is vividly described (p. 343) by Kerridge, who was himself for some time in danger, owing to the violence of the mob.

Throughout the summer an active correspondence went on between Roe and the Surat factors, which at times took a rather

acrimonious tone. The former had been expressly debarred by the Company from interfering in matters of merchandise; and Kerridge, who, as Roe said, 'loved dominion,' was determined not to yield one jot of his prerogatives. The ambassador, however, was not the man to remain silent when he saw instances of mismanagement, or to refrain from tendering advice, however unpalatable, when the interests of the Company appeared to demand it. Naturally, in these circumstances, the relations between the two were far from cordial. Roe complained that the delay in sending him particulars of Zúlfikár Khán's exactions had much embarrassed him in his negotiations; and the factors accused him in return of keeping back from them the reports of Steel and Crouther on their mission to Persia. On May 26 they wrote to the ambassador advising him, if his demands were still refused, to enforce them by seizing the Surat ships on their return from the Red Sea; yet when Roe, half inclined to adopt this rigorous course, yet conscious that it meant putting to the hazard the Company's trade in India, required their written concurrence, he received in reply 'a formal resolution of council to abide the injuries and not to dissolve the factory . . . . . contrary to their own motions severally made' (*Embassy*, p. 243). When Roe hinted that the drain of silver from Europe to feed the India trade was an evil which must in some way be counteracted, Kerridge showed plainly that he thought such views unsound, if not absurd. When the ambassador urged the despatch of factors to Sind, the Punjab, and (overland) to Bengal, the factors were ready with objections; and when he suggested a removal from Surat to Broach or some other town outside the Prince's jurisdiction, they declared the transfer inadvisable. In short, as Roe complained, he got nothing but 'contradictions to whatsoever motion I made in my opinion for the advancement of the Company's affairs; wherein I saw they took more pleasure to argue than to execute, and to show their wit and authority than to yield to anything not of their own propounding, their reasons being a mist of errors' (*ibid.*)

These unfortunate differences culminated in the autumn in a direct defiance of Roe's wishes (and, as he maintained, of his manifest authority) by the despatch of a vessel to open up trade with Persia. On September 24, a new fleet from England, under the charge of Captain Pepwell, anchored at Swally. On the way out they had overtaken, near the Comoro Islands, a large Portuguese carrack bound for Goa, and after a desperate fight, in which the English Commander, Benjamin Joseph, was killed, had driven her ashore, where her crew set her on fire and escaped to land. These ships brought Kerridge an active ally in Edward Connock, the chief merchant, while at the same time the addition thus made to the stock of broadcloth and other unsaleable goods strengthened his determination to find if possible a fresh outlet for such merchandise on the Persian coast. As we have seen in a previous volume, the exploring mission of Steel and Crouther to Ispahan had been initiated at Surat, and the factors were eager to gain the credit of the successful opening in that direction which was promised by their delegates. Roe, however, looked upon the question as primarily one of politics, and as he was accredited not only to the Great Mogul but also to the kings of 'the bordering nations,' he was determined to keep the reins in his own hands. By the middle of February, 1616, he knew that Sir Robert Sherley had been despatched by the Shah on a second mission to Madrid to offer a monopoly of the silk trade to King Philip; and he at once sent letters overland to the Company urging them to do their best to frustrate this design by official representations at the Spanish Court, while at the same time he addressed a respectful remonstrance to the Shah himself, pointing out the perils of allowing the Portuguese to become masters of his coast and pressing him to establish a free port and throw open the trade to all comers. Until the effects of these two letters were manifest, Roe thought it not only useless but positively mischievous to make any further attempt; especially as the Persian coast districts were poor and barren, and the Portuguese power at Ormus was a permanent menace to any but a strong fleet.

Kerridge and Connock, however, took quite another view. Their arguments will be found on p. 189, where are recorded the proceedings of a consultation on the question held at Swally on October 2, 1616. Pepwell produced a letter from Roe, which 'for many pretended unanswerable reasons did earnestly persuade to desist'; but it was calmly set aside with the remark that 'in regard His Lordship in other particulars of his said letter is far transported (in error of opinion) concerning merchandising and merchants' affairs in these parts, makes us assured that he is no less transported from and concerning this Persian employment.' After 'debatement and full consideration,' the factors decided to send a ship to Jask without delay, and Connock was appointed chief of the expedition, with five assistants. The *James* was accordingly laden and despatched (November 8th), and early in the following month the factors landed safely at Jask. They were well received by the local officials, who, however, referred them to the governor of the province, then resident at Mínau. To him, therefore, Connock repaired with four of the other factors. The Governor used them 'with much respect, promising that wherein he might assist us in the furtherance of our businesses he would not be wanting' (p. 283), and the energetic Connock at once posted back to the ship to supervise the landing of the cargo. Here, however, we must leave him, and reserve for the next volume the narrative of his journey to the Persian court, and his interview with the celebrated Sháh Abbás.

The task of transcribing the documents here printed—several of which were very difficult to decipher, owing to their decayed condition—has been performed with great efficiency by Miss E. B. Sainsbury. The index is also the work of that lady. In preparing some of the notes, the Editor has had the assistance of Dr. Aston, C.M.G., Professor Heeres, and other gentlemen whose friendly services have been acknowledged more fully in the following pages. He has, however, to offer his special thanks to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., for several valuable notes and

suggestions; and to Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., under whose general superintendence this series is being published, and who has not only contributed to the present volume the translation from the Persian printed on p. 141, but has throughout paid particular attention to the correct spelling of Oriental names.

THE

'ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE'

SECTION OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RECORDS

VOL. IV.

332

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Osaka.
Sackea[1] in Japon, the 2nd of January, 1615 [1616].

MOST loving friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you.

You shall understand that at my coming to Sackea I received several letters from Captain Cocks and withal one for yourself,[2] the which hereinclosed I have sent you. He makes account that you are come away from hence before this time and looks for your coming to Firando every day.

[1] Sakai, which must be discriminated from Osaka. 'Right over against Osaca, on the other side of the River, lieth another great Town called Sacay, but not so big as Osaca, yet is it a town of great trade for all the islands thereabout' (Saris in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 371).

[2] 'I wrote 2 letters to Mr. Wickham and Mr. Eaton, dated the 18th and 20th present, but kept till this day, and sent per the servant of Safian Dono.'—*Cocks's Diary*, under date of December 22, 1615.

He writes of another letter that he sent you enclosed in a letter to me the first of December[1] and sent by a Chena, which letter is not as yet come to my hands. He writes me nothing of Damian nor of the other, but my woman tells me that they are both gone in the junk for Syam with Captain Adames, who departed from Firando the 7th ultimo. The bark hath brought now of goods, viz. of lead 9,170 cattes, pepper 6,108½ cattes, and of wax 6,061 cattes, but of other goods not anything. The Emperor hath not bought anything of these goods.

Concerning your woman[2] it proveth untrue, and there is no such matter, as the Captain writes me, but only a piece of knavery done by the Dutch, setting on a knave to write a letter and to cast it into the house to bring her name in question. The matter was so followed that the knave was found out and forced to ask her forgiveness; otherwise, if it had proceeded before the justice, it had cost him his life. My woman doth likewise tell me as much.

I purpose to be with you, God willing, at supper. And thus for present, being in haste, I end, resting always

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. in Osekay.

333

John Jourdain to Richard Wickham at Firando, the 12th January, 1615 [1616].

Original of the first of the two letters given under No. 279 (vol. iii., p. 111.)[3]

[1] Not extant.

[2] See vol. iii., pp. 253, 279.

[3] The dates of the two versions differ, but that given above is evidently the correct one (cp. the reference to the sailing of the *Thomas*, and the entry in Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 151).

334

William Nicholls to the Agent at Bantam.[1]

In Achin, this 15th of January, 1615 [1616].

SIR, It may please you, whereas our pretended voyage was to trade at Tecoo, not doubting of any interruption, it so proved that both Poonleema and Governor of Tecoo was come hither for Achein; and by that the King of Achein had great store of goods in the hands of Ponleema of Pryaman to sell, he might not permit us trade; that rather than to return to Bantan again with our cargazon of decayed goods or attempt to trade at Cotatinga without licence from the King (which might move his displeasure, to the Company's future loss of trade in his kingdom), we chose as best to come hither, where after great hazard of loss of ship and goods by the master's neglect in his watch, that if I had not by God's providence discovered the danger, so that we came to an anchor all sails standing, we had been upon rocks sleeping; for notwithstanding my first discovery, our anchor being but apeak, we sailed within a boat's length of rocks where was but four foot of water in the dawning of the day; I say the 22nd[2] of June anno 1615 we arrived here, where the Hector was at an anchor from Seratt and had procured promise of His Majesty's letter to trade to Tecoo and Pryaman, provided they remained in the road with their ship during their trade; also their letter had this proviso likewise, that if His Majesty's own goods were sold, then to have admittance of trade there, which last clause I am assured would cost a large bribe; for although they may have sold His Majesty's goods, my experience of those people's dealings tells me they will pretend the contrary except a bribe. All which I uttered to the merchants of the Hector; but ultra posse non est esse; they could procure no other and I passed my assumed

[1] This is a rough copy. It contains Nicholls' account of the visit of the *Thomas* to Tiku and Achin, of which so much has been said in the preceding volume.

[2] In a subsequent letter (p. 22) Nicholls says the 20th. In vol. iii. the date is variously given as the 20th (pp. 210, 224), the 21st (p. 217), and 'about the 22nd' (p. 188).

knowledge only. And whereas they were borne in hand by a false Turk here that they might lade their ship there in two or three months, to which I affirmed the contrary, having had sufficient knowledge by my fifteen months abode there; yet notwithstanding my words were as wind then, although I dare say by this time approved true, that if they continued there six months they would hardly procure half her lading. At length we grew to a council and by that the Hector's merchants had procured the King's letter already, their voyage could not be resigned to us, but if we would deliver our goods aboard them they would sell them; which if their manner of grant from His Majesty had been good and not such injunctions limited therein (as to abide with a ship of such charge in the road during their trade) had been fittest so to have done; but in conclusion of our council we would endeavour first and prove if we might prevail to settle at Tecoo for two years; if not, after a few days spent we would leave this place and deliver our goods aboard them in the road of Tecoo and so return for Bantam. If otherwise we did procure such a grant, contrary to all their opinions, then they should deliver their goods aboard the Thomas and make sail for Bantam, leaving [a] merchant out of the Hector for assistance. Also, before the Hector's departure from this place, it was concluded by council that Mr. Jouxson and myself should remain here for sale of some fine goods and better direction of future merchants that shall arrive here; which is greatly material, for to come here still as strangers breeds but strange reckonings of loss to the Company, for what a world of presents the Hector's merchants gave here for the procuring of a letter of no importance, besides their long chargeable stay here and loss of 24 or 25 men; which proceeded from the difference amongst themselves here, which I spared not to tell them of at my arrival, having been informed by some of my old acquaintance in Tecoo and own broke[r] that their own dissensions caused them to be dejected in their business and no account made of them without continual bribes; which I sparing not to tell them, have procured their hatred, which for matters of truth uttered by me I weigh not.

Moreover Seratt goods are well sold here and will vent in abundance. Only here are no returns of any large sum to be

employed, unless a factory at Messepotan[1]; then is there brimstone, camphor, benjamin and raw silk of this country, which merchants of that place at their ships' yearly arrival here do buy up and carry thither. So is it that two thousand tales may be yearly sent hence for Bantam in Coast[2] commodities to cento per cento profit; viz. I have bought Tappie Chindas at 2½ tale the courge: sellimbot Irassir at 18 tayle 12 mass the courge: Tappie Serrassirs fine at 8 tale the courge: steel, called Leda Courboo,[3] five thousand pieces at 10½ mass per hundred: which are all fit and profitable goods for Bantam; that upon my full having bought at our next ships' arrival here for Bantam I will, God willing, send it by. Also I have bought a sort of steel called Besse Mallella,[4] viz. six thousand pieces at 4 talle per hundred, and can here sell it for 5 forthwith; but I knowing it to be a principal vendible commodity at Tecoo, worth 18 rials per hundred at least, do purpose to keep it until opportunity of conveyance by our own shipping.

To my matter again: at my approach to the King I acquainted him that I had remained at Tecoo (left there per General Best) fifteen months and was so inbred to the conditions of those people that to trade with a ship would not quit charge, and unless His Majesty would please to grant us trade for two years there, I desired answer of our King's letter and would return for Bantam, from whence we came. He granted me one year forthwith; so I importuned two years, inferring that through confidence of our peace and His Majesty's goodwill towards our nation we bought those sorts of goods in Suratt to trade in his kingdom. So he gave me two years time for sale of the Thomas's goods only, but, afterward some twenty days, he would allow me but one year; whereupon I boldly told him of his promise, being a King, which caused me to spend so much time, otherwise for one year I would not have spent one day in this pursuit. Thus revoking his promise, I demanded his chapp[5] for our departure, which is an ordinary custom and was forthwith produced. In fine I gave

[1] Masulipatam.

[2] Coromandel Coast.

[3] By 'leda' is probably meant 'lela,' an abbreviation of *malela*, a Javanese word for steel.

[4] See vol. iii., pp. 234, 334.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 313.

obeisance and returned to my tent, being at Ladonge,[1] in his way to Mallacca, five leagues eastward from this road. On the morrow I went to take my leave of Laxaman,[2] to whom all strangers' business are resigned. I also told him that if a merchant had promised aught to me in way of bargaining he must either stand to his word or I would seek justice from him, but a King to say one thing and do another, it is his great dishonour, and my bad fortune that ever he promised me. Whereupon he went to the court and moved the King of his promise and my words, that the King said: It is true I promised him, and let him have it for two years. So that you may understand the course of business here and manner of the King's dealing, I thought good for once to recite; and what will be obtained after the expiration of the two years is as yet uncertain, for in that business I have many opposites here, by that these nobles were wont to buy cloth here and send their servants for Tecoo and Pryman to their great profits, which if we obtain continual trade there will be frustrated.

The last of July 1615 I returned from Ladonge to Achein with the King's letter to remain at Tecoo the term of two years, having been absent fifteen days. Here I found my fellow Mr. Jouxson very sick of a flux, who the 10th of August died, that myself and Abraham Bond, purser's mate of the Thomas, remain here. The 16th ditto the Thomas brake ground and departed this road for Tecoo. Since which time here hath arrived four ships from the Coast, viz. from the 1st of October to the 10th two from Negapotan, one from Cullmat and [3] Messepotan, all fraught with rice and many sorts of white cloth, steel and paintathas.[4] The ship from Meslepotan is at least 600 ton, in which came an ambassador named Duria Con, of whom I bought my foresaid steel Besse Mallella; and being grown acquainted well with him, I questioned touching the bad usage Mr. Floris found there, by his moneys detained from him by the Governor, that if he had not taken

[1] Ladoeng, on the N. coast of Sumatra.

[2] This appears to be a title (from the Malay *laksamana*) given to the commander of the Achinese forces (see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 819). This individual has been mentioned several times in the preceding volume.

[3] And one from ?

[4] Pintadoes.

his son per force aboard he would not have paid him[1]; all which he acknowledged to be true, vowing to me that since Mr. Floris his departure thence the King, having heard of that his usage, turned him out of office and fined him one thousand pegodes. So, saith he, the English may trade, by factory there, as freely as the Flemings or any other nation. When you send for the Coast it will be good that the ship touch here, bringing some purslane[2] of the largest size, platters and others, fine and coarse, gold twist of the largest size skeins, taftas the best, red, black and some blues, so is there a mingled coloured dye which the Chinas bring there called Seda Lingam, worth here 3 and 4 tayle the catte. Three cattes of China makes two cattes of this place. Also besides the profit that may be made by those said goods, here may they take in brimstone, benjamin and camphor, all fit and like profit to be made by them at Meslepotan, that the time they shall spend may not be accounted as lost here.

Also I pray, Sir, advise of the worth of all sorts of payntathas there, with steel and iron of all sorts, also all sorts of white cloth, I mean such as is brought from any part of the Coast to that place; for in traffic some sorts are good, others better; which accordingly I may furnish from hence at those Coast ships' arrival, by that this coined gold here is current in no other parts; only some 25 tayle per cent to be gained by carrying it to any part of the Coast.

It grieves me that we having so sweet a trade at Serratt do not make the best use thereof by their not knowledge of the vendiblest commodity in this place and coast, and that we trust to the sending of our letters by strangers, which never comes to their hands at Serratt; for whereas Captain Jourdaine sent a packet of letters by the sheriff[3] of Bantam bearing date the 27th of May, 1614,[4] the said sheriff having been at Meslepotan is returned hither with the letters to me, saying he could not hear of any that travelled to Serratt. So that in my doubtful opinion (which in such cases is ever best) a man may send forty letters and it is a great question if one comes to their hands.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 294, and vol. iii., p. 130.
[2] Porcelain.
[3] 'Shroff' is probably meant.
[4] Not extant.

I have writ[1] of the vendiblest Serratt commodities in this place and coast and aim to send it by one that goeth thither by way of Messlepotan, promising him that the merchants there upon his delivery [of] it shall pay him 20 rials. But to prevent the loss of yearly profits that may be made if they of Serratt had knowledge, I hold it best to send or that I may go with another in company overland from Messlepotan, as I understand for certain two Holland merchants are gone thence overland to Serratt[2]; by which I can give advice of all sorts and condition of goods, so to return by the next ships that shall come for this coast thence; which would be not only one present voyage's profit, but future benefit to the Honourable Company apparent to be seen, if God should send me safe to arrive there.

Pepper here is at 8 tayle [ ] dram[3] the baharr: benjamin at 7 cattes the tayle: brimstone at 3 tayle the baharr: camphor at 5 tayle the catte: raw silk of this country, which is of colour yellow, at 80 tayle the baharr. My purpose is to engross benjamin, brimstone and camphor after these Coast ships' departure, which will be about the first of March next; my reason being grounded on good hope for having a factory at Meslepotan; and if not, at the farthest I can make profit here of those commodities at the arrival of the Coast shipping hither. Only my stock is small by the half of my goods yet remaining unsold, viz. fine whites and coarse. Howbeit, I hope for supply from Serratt in April next; which God grant, and send you good event in business there.

Your Worships' at command,

William Nicolls.

Endorsed: Sent to Bantam by Quey Sequen, cape merchant of a small junk.

[1] See p. 21. [2] See p. 33.

[3] Cp. p. 70. Evidently by a 'dram' Nicholls means a *mas*, which, it will be remembered, was the one-sixteenth part of a *tael* (ounce).

335

Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company.[1]
Adsmere, 25th of January, 1615 [1616].

MY honoured Friends, My last letters, dated from Brampore the 24th of November,[2] which you shall receive with these, will give you some account of my time spent and opinion of your business; but every day adds some knowledge, and ripeness either enlargeth or retracteth counsel.

It pleased not God to give me health nor hope of recovery in that place, and though I was so weak that the second night I was forsaken of those about me as a dead man, without dissimulation I chose rather to end my life in the high way, if so pleased God, than to hazard an opinion that I lingered and neglected your business and the content you might receive, and I had hope to procure, in the manifold abuses toward your servants in all their residences. My weakness was such as I could not make great journeys; yet I rested but two days and one perforce. I rose in the cold air before day for the most part, and so in 27 days (December 24) I arrived at Adsmere, with a new ague that took me in the way. I was met by Mr. Edwards and the English of this factory, one day's journey; who had fitted, with as much conveniency as the place will afford, his house for me.

I was so far from being able to present myself before the King that I could not stand but was lifted even to my bed, of which I advised the King, and hereby had good leisure to repair many things decayed in the coach and to advise of somewhat else. It

[1] This is the original letter. There is a copy in Roe's letter book (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 70), and another (initialled by the ambassador) among the O.C. Duplicates at the India Office. The latter is evidently a copy sent home by Roe in a subsequent letter, for he has added some marginal comments which are clearly of later date; these have been printed here as insets.

The three versions have been compared, and as a result a few corrections have been made in the text.

This letter has been printed in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. i., and in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 118; but in both cases only a part of it has been given.

[2] See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 93.

pleased him to send a gentleman to see me with two wild hogs within a week; I think to satisfy himself of my delay; after he was well content I should take leisure. Within six days my two agues forsook me, and by the 10th of January I recovered so much strength as to sit on a horse; and, having demanded leave, presented myself to the King, having first desired him to be pleased that I should use the customs of my nation and of an Ambassador from a Christian King, wherein I would do him all right, and the change of fashion would not be unpleasant. He sent me word I was welcome and had free liberty to do what seemed convenient to me without exception.

He prevented me in speech, bidding me welcome as to the brother of the King my master; and after many compliments I used some words to him, delivering his Majesty's letter and showing my commission, the copy whereof (I mean the letter) I then also delivered in Persian; after that your presents, to say, the coach, the virginals, the knives, a scarf all richly embroidered, and a rich sword of mine own. The reason why I altered your present shall in a fitter place be mentioned. He sitting in his state could not well discern the coach, but sent many to see it; and caused the musician to play on the virginals there, which gave him good content. Thus with many good words of his affection to the King's Majesty and our nation, bidding me require anything of him wherein we were yet wanting concerning your establishment here, or for redress of any injury if it should be offered, and he would grant it, and see our causes righted. The King was doubtless ignorant of all the abuses of Suratt, having never been complained to. He then bade me go home and recover more strength before I came abroad, offering me his physicians and such courtesies; and so I took leave.

At night he having stayed the coachman and musician, he came down into a court, got into the coach, into every corner, and caused it to be drawn about by them. Then he sent to me (though ten o'clock at night) for a servant to tie on his scarf and sword the English fashion, in which he took so great pride that he marched up and down, drawing it and flourishing, and since hath never been seen without it. So that in conclusion he accepted your presents well. But after the English were come

away, he asked the Jesuit whether the King of England were a great king, that sent presents of so small value, and that he looked for some jewels. To this purpose was I often felt by some, before I saw him, whether I had brought jewels or no; but rarities please as well, and if you were furnished yearly from Francford (where are all knacks and new devices), 100*l.* would go farther than 500*l.* laid out in England, and here better acceptable. And seeing I am in the speech of presents, I will tell you what I find: that this country is marred with I know not what indulgence of too much giving, and so ill a precedent is made everywhere that it will cost you dear to follow. One toy or two in the beginning would have served; now so many have been so liberally offered to like idols, and to no purpose, and every business done by bribes, that I, that have nothing to give, am enforced to alter the whole course, lest it appear poverty. I hoped to have found some help of Mr. Edwards, because you gave direction that I should write him to stay his hand till my coming up; but he had finished his store before I landed, and you well know I have nothing, no, nor the General, of value, but the five first designed, the coach, virginals, etc.; for though many things were delivered me by the General, yet they are not fit to give, either decayed or not esteemed, and I have re-delivered most to your factors to sell. You desire me to be always furnished, but here it is impossible; what I have of mine own shall be employed in your service. But seeing Sultan Coronne is lord of the port where yet your residence is like to be, he is not to be neglected, for his favour is as necessary for you as the King's, and for the present more; therefore I hope you will take it into your consideration. There is nothing more welcome here, nor ever saw I man so enamoured of drink as both the King and Prince are of red wine, whereof the Governor of Suratt sent up some pottle. Ever since the King hath solicited for more. I think four or five handsome cases of that wine will be more welcome than the richest jewel in Cheapside. Pictures large, on cloth, the frames in pieces; but they must be good, and for variety some story with many faces, for single to the life hath been more usual. If the Queen must be presented (which I will not advise to, and do purpose, as well out of necessity as judgment, to break this custom of daily

bribing) fine needlework toys, fair bone lace, cut work, and some handsome wrought waistcoat, sweet bags or cabinets will be most convenient. Other things I have sent a note of in my last; only I would add: any fair China bedsteads, or cabinets, or trunks of Japan, are here rich presents. Lately the King of Bisampore[1] sent his ambassador with thirty-six elephants (two with all their chains of wrought beaten gold, two of silver, the rest brass) and forty rich furnished horses, with jewels to the value of ten lecks of rupias; yet withal he sent China ware and one figure of crystal, which the King accepted more than that mass of wealth. I would wish you to spare sending scarlet; it is dear to you and no better esteemed here than stamel. The scarlet you sent now, besides the spot which you mentioned in the making up, there were stitches taken in the crests with silk which tore some holes; so that, besides the King cared not for it, as Mr. Edwards informed me, it was very unfit to give, but must serve in remnants for some others whom I must needs use, and a little follow the custom; and that was the reason I was enforced to present my scarf and sword, for which, and for whatsoever I shall be able to dispose of, I will ask nothing until my return, when you shall see the particulars and use me at your discretion. But I assure you, had I been the first here I would have held them up to another tune than give, give, and I will endeavour to alter it, as you shall perceive I have begun.

Further, besides the ill precedent of giving, this place is either made, or of itself unfit for an ambassador. I speak against myself, but I will inform truth. For though they understand the quality, yet they have much ado to understand the privileges which that quality with us doth require; the rather because they have ever been sought to humbly, and they expect as much of me; but they shall be deceived. I stand upon myself, and yet find good effects of it; but if I cannot change the ill customs begun, and set the business upright without base creeping and bribing (which one year's experience will show), then I shall roundly advise you, as the best course, never to send an ambassador more hither, both because he may not dishonourably attend at their doors, nor suffer such affronts as they barbarously often use, without injury

[1] See *The Embassy*, p. 111.

to the King, and if he cannot be righted his discontent will prejudice your business; besides, the charge which you are at in maintaining him, bestowed in presents (if that course must be proceeded in), will effect more than his countenance. And an agent may with no dishonour sue and go to their houses; for were it here as in other parts, that after an ambassador had moved the King, his secretary or some other might solicit the business, it were somewhat; but here a man must go himself, be refused at the doors, wait on base persons, and undergo a thousand indignities unfit for a quality that represents a King's person. But of this one year's experience will make a full trial, and I am resolved to prove what another course will do.

Another terrible inconvenience I suffer: want of an interpreter; for the brokers here will not speak but what shall please; yea, they would alter the King's letter, because his name was before the Mogull's, which I would not allow. But if we had one of our own nation that were of understanding and could in good terms deliver himself, I could effect more than ever I shall by these, that speak not what I command but what they conceive is fit, by example of others that have ever sought to content and not to contest, which is here very needful and works as well as physic. And at this present, when I had commission to propose and draw what I please, I cannot do nothing, an Armenian that used to write in Persian (for so are all that passeth the King) being absent.

After I had visited the King and received content in my entertainment, I took this course: Asaph Chan did expect some great present for himself and the Queen, as I understood (they did expect ten times as much from me as from Mr. Edwards, and spake it openly: that now an ambassador was come, a great man, they should receive proportionable gifts); and as he is the chiefest man with the King, so is he in faction with Sultan Coronne (who hath married his daughter), and Normall, the beloved wife of the King, is sister to Asaph Chan; so they are linked together, govern the King and carry business so that no complaint should be made whereby the King might be angry with Sultan Coronne, and thus have persuaded silence from demanding justice of the King; and Sultan Coronne himself was not apt to do any, because he had a ship to set out for the Red Sea and was willing to wink, yea, to

encourage his ministers to molest and hinder the despatch of our fleet until his ship were clear, because their countenance did protect it from the frigates [while our ships are here][1]; which when I understood, I sent to Asaph Can (as if I had been ignorant of this course and faction) this message: that he should not expect I came in the fashion nor that I would follow the steps of those before me, who had given very largely, hoping to procure good usage for the English, at least protection from open violence and wrong: but that I found our people so many ways injured in their persons and goods in all their several residences, especially at Suratt, that I was resolved to give nor bribe no longer: that the King did send me hither to his master to confirm the league and to protect his subjects by mediation to him: that the gain of the merchants was not worth the injuries and delays they suffered, nor the trade fit to be continued on so unworthy conditions: that I was loth to do anything that might prejudice Sultan Coronne, and that my respect to him had retarded my resolution of complaining: but that I must obey my master and perform that wherefore I was employed, and therefore was enforced against my will to present to His Majesty a paper containing all the several wrongs done to our fleet and factory at Suratt: how often we had sought redress and could find none: that the example there gave courage to the Governor of Amadavaz to take the same course: that therefore, according to the league and amity between His Majesty and my master, and agreeable to the articles signed by him (to whose performance his honour stood engaged), I did require speedy justice against the said Governor, and redress in all the particulars, or to grant me licence to depart and draw all our people peaceably out of his dominion; desiring Asaph Chan to prepare the King, and to design me a time when were best opportunity to deliver this.

Asaph Chan, seeing me so round, went speedily to Sultan Coronne and informed him of my resolution; where it seems they agreed on better ways and he returned me this answer: that he had acquainted the Prince with my purpose and complaints: that the Prince desired me not to make it known to his father: that he was utterly ignorant hereof: and that if I would come to

[1] Added from the duplicate.

him (who sits out in the same state as his father, having a kingdom) he would use me with all good respect: that he would do me justice upon the person of the Governor: that he should pay the utmost penny: and that whatsoever I would propound for the benefit of our factory he would sign and see it effected.

This message pleased me well and was that I aimed at, for I was loth to complain and set all on one cast; the faction I knew was too strong; but now I had my end. I gave the Prince thanks and promised to wait upon him; of which I was hindered by a hunting voyage till the 22nd of January, at which time I went. He, being not ready nor purposed to sit out, sent his principal officer to entertain me and to take more particular knowledge of the abuses[1]; who brought me into a good room, a thing never done before, and there took notes out of my paper of every material point; and within an hour the Prince came out and sent for me; and, whereas he is esteemed proud and our enemy, he used me with more courtesy than ever I saw or expected here. I made him such a present as I was able, which he very well accepted. But withal I told him the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Suratt and that therefore these presents were not sent by His Majesty but by the Company, who always commanded a good respect to be carried towards him; but that I doubted not, when His Majesty understood of it, he would send to him according to his worth. He told me he was sorry for our injuries past: that they never came to his knowledge: that whatsoever I would require of him in satisfaction, or for the time to come, it should be willingly granted. He was pleased to take notice of many of the wrongs publicly and said the Governor should answer them dearly, as of ill words spoken of His Majesty, of taking goods perforce, whereof he hath required a roll, both of yours and

This was honeymoon,[2] and he expected as good a present as his father.

[1] Cp. vol. iii., p. 182. For the interview with the Prince, see *The Embassy*, p. 114.

[2] As explained in the *New English Dictionary*, this word had originally no reference to the period of a month, but compared the mutual affection of newly-married persons to the changing moon, which is no sooner full than it begins to wane; cp. Blount's *Glossogr.* (1656): '*Honymoon*, applyed to those marryed persons that love well at first and decline in affection afterwards; it is hony now, but it will change as the moon.'

private men,[1] for which he promised present satisfaction. When he was ready to depart, he referred me to his chief officer for effecting my desire and said, whereas also he was informed that the Governor of Suratt had taken from me certain basins (the French ones)[2] and sent them to him, though he did not excuse the insolence of the Governor, yet he did accept them now as sent from me. So he gave me leave to return.

The propositions I intend will require some good advice and are not suddenly of use, your fleet being ready to go and having endured all they can endure. Therefore I only drew a short but strict command for the present redress, to send speedily away, which is despatched. But I must formally now proceed to renew the articles and to make many additions, to be signed both by the King and Prince, and doubt not your next fleet shall find new effects.

For the abuses of Amadavaz, I likewise informed Asaph Chan, who encouraged me to complain, it being absolute under the King. The 24th I went to His Majesty, presenting your clock and two other trifles. He beckoned me so soon as he saw me, commanding that, whereas all men stay in his sight till they solemnly send up for leave, that I should not be stayed. When I came up he asked of my health and what I had to demand of him. I informed him of the abuses of Amadavaz (the particulars whereof, because you shall at large understand, I have sent you Thomas Kerridge's letters, first to Mr. Edwards, after to me, whereby you may judge how your people are ransacked). He gave present order to release the custom pretended: to repay the 500 rupees taken by injustice: and an effectual command for their quiet residence.

The Governor of Suratt is displaced (as is pretended, for these causes, but it is true he is on the way hither) and Hoyja Hassan in his room, who hath directly hired it. He sent to offer to visit me, which I expect daily. He was our old enemy and fears my opposition. He was present when I complained to the Prince, and saw the good effects, for which I was not sorry; for if we

Hoja Hussen refused the Prince's conditions.

[1] See *infra*, No. 353. [2] See *The Embassy*, pp. 83, 84.

meet I will deal plainly with him, that if he use not our people according to justice, I will not spare to use all my credit against him.

Thus you have what hath passed at Court; and I hope to scamble out by a new way. Yet Asaph Chan hath been so faithful and diligent, both in the business of Suratt and of Amadavaz, that after it was effected I sent him a present, and a good one, though not answerable to former; but withal this message, by Francis Fettiplace, that it was sent from the Company directly to him, who, having taken notice of his former good affection to our nation, gave me particular order to have him in especial regard. But if presents might have been had without complaints and at more ease, I had never had any amendment.

I will now say somewhat of your factors and goods. How they have been used at Suratt my last, and some that return, will inform you; it will be needless here. Whereby you may perceive either nothing done, or the wrong way at Court; for ordinary firmaes are not worth a halfpenny. But how they use you in all parts, lest it should not by others, I will be plain. I bear here a place of envy. You are wise and sworn to secrecy; I care not if anything I write were printed; yet it were more convenient that what informations you receive for your good, the authors should be concealed; and if any man have a friend that he would justify, he may use friendship to him without injury to another.

First, here hath been last year a faction and general hatred among all your servants, few speaking well one of another, and crossing your business, so that, to your extreme prejudice, not one pound of any sort of goods was bought at our arrival. The principal division was all, except one Robert Young and Uflett, were against Mr. Edwards; and there are many material complaints made, with which I will not meddle, because it is without my limits and the General undertakes the examination. Only this I may say: it were strange if one of his reputation would lose himself and that so quickly, and in his answers to me, by way of discourse, he is very confident of his innocency. But he in one year will return with more gain than I shall do in my whole time, and it were as strange if all others should maliciously join to accuse him falsely without some ground; which Captain Keeling I doubt

not will discern. For his usage and respect and preparation for me, it was with all due, and care more than I expected.

For the misdemeanour of Mittford[1] toward him, I must avow it worthy of punishment, though it seems much provoked. Yet in other business of yours I understand not but he hath done good service.

But generally your cashiers, I fear, are out; and at Agra, where the best indigo[2] is to be found, only Robert Young, a man of small experience, doth the business. And when Mittford and Charles Clarke went up now to Agra to assist these investments, they bought on the way, for their own account, very good at 18 rupias; whereas at Agra Robert Young wrote it cost 28 rup[ias], but I understand but 24. Besides it was so huddled that a Dutchman told me he saw it mingled with worse—for what purpose I know not.

This is the abuse of the broker mentioned to have cozened them of two or three thousand rup.

Here lie 100[3] glasses unsold, the foiling not amended, though Young were here six months in the house and all the tools, which had been fitter employment than for the buying your indigo, as I am informed. However, if I had authority I would send for him and make him mend them. If it were done, they would sell; as they are, they come all to loss. Here is none else taught the skill. But indeed you must send better and stronger in the backs if you send glasses to sell; for nothing will pass here but good, and in them is most gain. Your cloth will off very heavily; and the swords (especially ordinary ones), if they will bend and not stand they will sell; if they stand no man will look on them. I fear this place is fitted with that commodity for some four or five years, the General having bought all in the fleet at sea, hoping to make profit; but if you make your own in five years I think it the best of the bargain. In the last fleet came great quantities of swords, which hath killed your market for these, some landing fifteen dozen, some ten; and in ours, I guess,

Glasses will not vent but one in a quarter, save (?) rich for presents.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 299.

[2] The other two copies read 'annill.'

[3] The text has 200, but the duplicate has 100, and the B.M. copy has evidently been corrected from the higher to the lower figure.

are bought to your use at least two thousand of the merchants and ship's company. Judge you when these will off.

I would advise you to bestow three or four hundred pounds at least in curious toys, rich glasses, figures, French toys, cabinets embroidered, scarfs embroidered, swords with fair cut and inlaid hilts, broad blades—whatsoever is curious work and rich. And pack them well and safe, commanding to set them in a cabin, not under the decks, and to be often looked to; these to be sent to your factory at Court, wheresoever residing. For here is a custom in March, called the Norose,[1] when all the subjects of the Mogull make him presents, the rarest every man can find, to procure the more favour and acceptation. Trust me, they will off in one month all, yea, if it were a thousand pounds in rich knacks, at five, ten, twenty, yea, forty for one profit. At this time they come daily to inquire for curiosities to furnish themselves, and I could have sold some things at the rate. These must pass, in the name of presents, with your presents, lest they be sacked at Suratt; and I will take order for my time and set example for the future, that nothing coming under that title shall once be opened, but sent right to your leiger. But then you must distinguish your presents you intend to give from them by special direction, or else you may have a leiger who will make other use of them.

There was a debt owing Mr. Hawkyns,[2] when he came away, of two thousand rupees, but of your goods, unaccounted to you; which when he saw he was not like to recover before his departure, he gave it away, as is pretended, a thousand to his father-in-law, a Dutchman, five hundred to the broker, and five hundred to another. The money since is honestly paid.* I know not why you should lose it. And since I speak of debts, advise your factors to arrest those that owe them. Many ill debts are made for fear to prosecute law, under one pretence or other; but that custom will in time wrong you. Let them use the privilege of law without fear; for my time I will warrant it.

* This is now denied, and but 200 confessed; with that I know they pass clear.

Finally, whereas I promised you an account of my charge when I arrived at Adsmere, my sickness hath so hindered me that

[1] Cp. vol. iii., p. 309.

[2] Captain William Hawkins (see vol. i. p. xxix).

I cannot perform it. But first I may tell you everything is as dear here as in London. A small sheep will cost three rupees and a half; the stable is very dear; peons a custom (and necessary) of great charge. Yet in all these I will confidently say I will pass for less than ever any household you kept in proportion; and I have looked into some week-books (and am ashamed of it, especially the reckonings of stable), which will shortly come to your hands, and then compare them with mine, number for number.

I have taken an inventory of Mr. Boughton's[1] goods and have delivered to your factory here, for which I have bills of exchange, 1,200 royalls of eight. I pray let it be paid his executor, if he show sufficient discharge. If I had purposed to have dealt like all men you employ, I could have made use and great profit of this money and not have been seen in it. Other goods and trifles of his are sold, and some money and some plate remains in my hands (but no great matter), for which I will account with his executor. There is a small trunk of his sent home, wherein are (as I suppose) 100*l.* at least of calicoes bought at Suratt. I pray let it be examined and inquired after, lest it be embezzled away. What fell into my hands shall be exactly accounted for. All had been lost but for my especial care.

Thus I have scambled at somewhat, according to my experience. Accept my good intentions, which are to do all faithful service and plain and open. I shall return poor by it, for I never yet had anything bestowed on me but a few hogs and one hind. I have spent of mine own 200*l.* at least. Clothes and stuffs are here twice as dear as in Cheapside,[2] if they be not pintadoes or striped bald taffeties. Good silks cost 10 rupeis their cobda, and mean cloth of gold 35 and 40 rup[eis] a cobda. And seeing I have gone this course, I must bear it out with some countenance of bravery; which is mine own charge, but it will leave me never a penny. When you see what I have done I must refer myself to you, for I expect nothing from the King. I had not presents to fee those about him; or if I had, to that end I would not bestow them.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 330, and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 32, &c.
[2] Cp. *The Embassy*, p. 98.

I pray excuse what is here erroneous. My experience is young, and it harms not you. I write my opinion; use your own judgment; I am discharged of my duty. I doubt not to find a way to advise you overland, but at some cost. My fever is again returned and hath twice interrupted this letter; and therefore if it appear broken, consider a sick man's brain is full of distempers.

Thus I commit you all to God, whom I pray to assist and direct you in all your public counsels and bless you in all your several good intentions and ends.

Your very affectionate friend to do you service,

Tho. Roe.

Addressed: To the Honourable the Governor and Committees of the East India Company.

Endorsed: Agimere, 25 January 1615 [1616]. Sir Thomas Roe to Mr. Governor and Committees, per Lion. Read and noted, 23 September, 1616.

Sir Thomas Rowe's letter of 25 January 1615 [1616], by the Lion; sent from Agmere. Discourse of Sir Thomas Roe's travel from Surratt to the Mogoll's court and his first entertainment there.

336

[Wm. Nicholls] to Tho. Aldworth at Surat.[1]
In Achein, this last of January, anno 1615 [1616].

MR. ALDWORTH, By the uncertainty of this conveyance I am discouraged for amplifying as otherwise I would.

In brief, therefore, it may please you the 12th of April, 1613, we arrived with the Dragon and Osiander in this road of Achein, where we continued until the 13th of July following,

1. This is a copy of the letter spoken of on p. 8. Nicholls was of course unaware of Aldworth's death.

having here buried out of both ships 26 men, and at last with this King's letter to trade at Tecoo or Pryaman we arrived in the road of Tecoo the 7th of August; where all the merchants dying, John Wattson and John Harman, with some twenty more mariners, it fell to my lot to be left principal merchant for the sale of your goods, and my mate captain of the Osiander to remain aboard, especially in the nights. Thus finding slack sales and knavery by the people ashore, who, having pepper, did detract time, which they knew to be chargeable to us, at last, the 30th October, 1613, General Best departed for Bantam. So after a three months Captain Christian was forced to follow, the Osiander proving so leaky through the worm, especially growing, by their judgments, through the foulness of the sea water at Sually. After five months absence, having sheathed at Jackatra near Bantam, returned. And in fine it was the 12th of November, 1614, before we made full sales and gat the Osiander fraught with pepper. The 26th ditto we arrived in Bantam Road, where was the James arrived from the Coast and Syam factory, and the Concord arrived as an adviser out of England, viz. that General Doughton was gone for Surratt with four ships, besides etc. (?).

In February arrived Captain David Middleton with three ships out of England, viz. the Samaritan, the Thomas and Thomasine. By council the Thomas was determined of for this coast with 80 bales of Surratt goods, myself joined in commission with one John Millward, a jeweller. March the 15th we brake ground and the 11th May arrived in Tecoo Road, where, the Governor and Ponleeman being absent and come hither, and the King's goods in the hands of the Ponleema of Pryaman to sell, we were denied trade; that of force, our goods being detained, we were constrained to come hither.

The 20th June, 1615, we arrived in this Road, where we found the Hector at anchor from Surratt, who had buried their cape merchant, Mr. Oxwick, and some twenty-four other their mariners, and were promised the King's letter, which at last they obtained, importing thus: that, provided the King's goods at Pryaman be first sold, then for them to sell theirs so long as their ship remained in the road and not to leave at the hardest any merchant ashore; which I knowing to be chargeable, as also the

people ashore held it nothing worth, and in fine told the King that for suchlike grant I would not stay my ship a day, amplifying unto him the cunning of the people, when they perceive of such injunction that the ship is to stay in road, will delay time, by which time's loss will eat out our profits by charges. At last I procured His Majesty's letters for two years for the sale only of the Thomas' goods and employment of their proceeds, which was contrary to all the merchants' opinion of the Hector, who brake ground herehence for Tecoo the 6th of July, leaving Mr. Juxson merchant in pawn for a new Ponleema of Tecoo which they carried with them; with which Mr. Jouckson (by council before the Hector's departure) I was to stay here, both for better direction of future merchants and for the hopeful profits of this place. The 10th of August Mr. Jouckson died. So myself being left here principal with one other assistant, Abram Bonde, purser's mate of the Thomas, they departed for Tecoo the 16th ditto.

To come to the main scope of my drift: it may please you the staplest commodity for this country is cotton wool untoused, worth here 25 tayle the bahare, and so may be vented in abundance; moreover, if the Gogeratts bring not, it may be sold at our own rate: its worth little there and as good to fill our ships thence as bring them half empty. Blue baftas of 3 and 4 ma. per piece. Candyques of Brothia[1] are most staple commodities in all parts of this country. Surratt steel, called Besse Ganda, and others call it Besse Mallella, worth there three rials per co.[2] is worth here five tayle per c. and at Teco and these parts 18 rials per c. readily. Surratt silk girdles, called here Ickatt Pingons,[3] of 8 and 9 hestas[4] long, sold to great profit, and much requested in Bantam likewise. Fine blue baftas from 5 ma. per piece to 10, some 20 corge in a ship. Some fine whites of like price. ellas blue and Catchambangs. [*Unsigned*].

Endorsed: Sent for Suratt by a Nockada of Dabull, who went or Mocha in the Red Sea.

[1] Broach.
[2] Hundred (cp. vol. iii., p. 234).
[3] Malay *ikat*, 'to bind,' and *pingang*, 'the waist.'
[4] See vol. ii., p. 343.

337

Richard Westby to John Jourdain at Bantam.[1]

In Jambe, this 10th February, anno 1615 [1616].

WORSHIPFUL Sir, My service in what you please to command me remembered unto you, with my prayers to God for the continuance of your health and good success in all your affairs, etc.

May it please you to understand that I have made sale of your damasks, though at a low rate, at ten peccults, one with another, the corge, a small price, but by reason of their defects and doubting the China junks would be here this year I sold them away for pepper due at all times of demand, which is sure as soon as pepper cometh down. Your sword-blades as yet will not away, but the King hath offered me a peccull per piece. I have sold two of them for two pecculls per piece, and if the Mallencaboes[2] come down they will, I hope, all sell at that rate. I pray you, if I can sell them, per the next to send me word whether I shall return your adventure in pepper or gold of this country, it being good sand gold, such as is vendible at Sackadane, but in my opinion very dear, for now it is worth 6 pecculls the Priaman tayle and at the cheapest worth 5 and 5½ pecculls. If you will have any returned for the Company at these prices, I pray you advise me by the next and what quantity. A muster of it I will send to Mr. Balle to lay out for me upon necessaries, being half a tayle. I have writ to him to show it to you to see how you like it.

I pray you, if Mr. Bale speak to you for any cloth for shirting for me, to spare me some and put it to my account; for all the cloth here will yield none so broad for that use.

I made bold with the consent of the rest of the merchants to send down Robert Burges to the ship, there to stay for his misdemeanour, he being so proud and headstrong and so base in his carriage[3] that I could not here rule him without great discredit to our nation and to the Company and a hindrance to our pro-

[1] This letter is almost entirely concerned with private trade and shows to what an extent this was carried on (cp. vol. iii., p. 327).

[2] See vol. iii., p. 204.

[3] Cp. *ibid.*, p. 205.

ceedings here; and for his abusing the Company I refer you to the master and the rest of the company of ship. I have also sent you back John Smyth, a man much disordered by drink, and when he is sober so proud and lazy that he is fit for nothing but to drink and sleep; neither doth he care for the Company's service, as divers times he hath told me, but desireth to go for his country. For the master,[1] he is a very honest man, both sufficient and careful, and beareth as good a command amongst his men as any young man in the Indies; a more sufficienter man you cannot find, were his ship greater; but I know he will be very unwilling to return.

We are generally petitioners to you to supply our wants for these things mentioned in the note hereinclosed,[2] which will be commodious for us and spare the Company's purse, divers of these things being very dear and not to be had.

Thus I take my leave for this present and rest at your command,

Richard Westby.

Addressed: To the Worshipful John Jourdaine, Captain of English house, dd. in Bantam. Per the Attendant, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Richard Wesby his letter from Jambee; received by the Attendants (*sic*) the 18th of March, anno 1615 [1616].

338

John Tucker[3] to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Laus Deo in Jambee, this 11th February, 1615 [1616].

HONOURABLE Sir, My duty remembered. I pray for your good health and prosperity, etc.

My last unto you was by Mr. Thomas Elkington from Bantam,[4] giving you to understand of the Attendant and the Gift's pinnace, which were bound for discovery upon

[1] Richard Hounsell, of whom see vol. iii., p. 331.

[2] Missing.

[3] One of the factors of Downton's fleet. He died at Jambi not long after the date of this letter.

[4] Not extant.

Sumatra to a place called Jambee, lying up a river (as the master doth suppose) 25 leagues (the river's mouth, whereat the ships come in at, lieth in 40 mi. to the southwards of the equinoctial); and in them for merchants Richard Westby, myself and William Varnon. Whither, with the help of God, the 27th of September we arrived at one of the river's mouths, there being four in all, and the 29th ditto we the merchants, having laded the pinnace with part of our goods, departed towards Jambee, leaving the ship to ride there till further advice; and the 21st October, after a great deal of trouble, by reason of the waters running so strong down against us, we arrived at Jambee.

At our coming hither the King gave us leave to sell our goods but would not give us leave to settle a factory. The reason was the King of Jore sent a letter to this King that he should not entertain us, for we were a vile people, drunkards and thieves, with many other vile terms of us; which letter, as we have since understood, was there by the Flemings procured.[1] But since the King have given us leave to settle a factory and build a house, the which we have begun to build. Having had some knowledge by the country people of the river, we sent down to the ship warps, and willing the master to go to the furthest river's mouth to the northwards there to go in and bring up the ship as high within the river as he could, the which he brought up the better half way and could not come no farther, the stream running so strong against them. So there he hath rid three months. Therefore ships to come here must come in August and then they may with ease come up here, a ship of 200 tons as these country people say.

Concerning the trade of this place, of itself it yieldeth nothing, but up the river a month or two journey is great store of pepper and some gold; but by reason the greatest place called Mannancabo[2] hath civil wars amongst themselves that they have not been down here these three or four years. Yet here have come down good store of pepper; for this year have gone away from hence laden four frigates and two junks Portingalls, besides China and Java junks and one small Fleming. The pepper which they have carried away from hence hath been old of the last year's;

[1] See vol. iii., p. 324. [2] See p. 24.

none of this year's pepper is yet come down, but about two months hence is expected very much.

The commodities which we brought hither, being of Surratt, as yet are in little request, but hope will be better. The reason is because the Portingalls and Flemings have brought hither this year great store of Choromandel cloth and sold it at very base prices, which hath made our commodities to be of less esteem. But we think the Portingalls will come no more here, for the Flemish ship that went away from hence was by contrary winds put back again to the river's mouth and there met with three or four Portingall frigates bound for this place; he took the best of them and carried away with him and made the others return for Malacca.

For the quantity of pepper that may be had here yearly I cannot say anything until I have seen those prows come down which are expected two months hence; then I shall be able to give your Worship some notice thereof. At present here is no pepper to be had, all having been carried away. Our coming so late hath been the cause we could not get pepper to lade our ship, she having but the pinnace' lading, and now cannot tarry no longer, the monson growing to an end, but hope by the next return we shall have good store of pepper.

Until then I rest, with my duty remembered unto the Worshipful Committees, and commit you and them with your affairs to the tuition of the Almighty God.

Your servant,
John Tucker.

Addressed: To the Honorable Knight Sir Tho. Smith, Governor of the Right Worshipful Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, this dd. in London.

Endorsed: John Tucker from Jambee upon Sumatra, the 11 February, 1615 [1616]. Received by the Dragon the 19 of May, 1617. Ext[racted]. *Added later:* For proof of the Dutch defaming us.

339

Lucas Antheunis to Sir Thomas Roe.[1]

Musulpatam, 1st and 15th February, 1615 [1616].

WORSHIPFUL, After salutations. These are to certify your Worship that the ship the Solomon, appointed by General Downton from Bantam to Patania and from thence to the Coast, is arrived in safety here in Musulpatam per month January. Her departure from Bantam to Patania was in July, the 24th, the master Hugh Bennett, for merchants George Chancey, Ralph Preston, Humphry Elkington, Timothy Mallery, etc.; and had order to take Mr. John Gurney in at Patania for cape merchant and agent of the Coast, to whom their letters were directed, we being resident in Siam. By means of the wars I was so long kept there before I could make despatch of the goods belonging to the Globe, that after the arrival of Mr. Gourney with the Darling, which brought a great capital in her of Coast cloth purchased here by the James, which arriving from Bantam in Patania, thought it not convenient to proceed any further not to endanger his mounsone. So that the Darling arriving there from Succadania transported the said goods in her for Siam; the James returned from Patania to Bantam and so for England. So that I was forced after the arrival of Mr. Gurney to spend one whole year more in Siam before I could bring the account of the Seventh Voyage to a final conclusion. These particular accounts have caused no small damage to the Company here in India through divers principals resident almost at all places, each striving for his own voyage, by which means divers times the one deals with the other like strangers and not as though the goods belonged to one master; but now all matters are redressed by the orders brought by Captain Midleton.

[1] Received by Roe on May 23. 'This day,' he notes in his journal, 'I received letters from one Lucas at Mesolapatan concerning merchants' affairs, which I understood not, and delivered them to Bidolph to be sent to Suratt' (*The Embassy*, p. 180).

Although the whole is addressed to Roe, there seems to be little doubt (from its general tenour and especially from one passage on p. 33) that the greater portion is merely a copy of a letter to General Keeling at Surat, which Antheunis thought he ought to communicate to the ambassador for his information.

Having made an end in Siam I embarked in a small junk for Patania, whe[n at] the coming out of the river I received the letters come with the Solomon as well of [the] Company as of Mr. Jurdan and Mr. Elkington, chief merchants at Bantam (but Mr. Jou[rdain] was upon his departure with the Gift or Hector), out of which letters I understood the success of all which passed with the fleet in Suratt until their arrival at Bantam. The letters for Mr. Gurney I sent up the river (with all haste), which is above 25 leagues long, that we might confer together before my departure, seeing this sudden alteration, what were best and most profitable to be done for the Company, to leave their factories furnished with sufficient men, as also in furthering what concerns the voyage of the ship, by the copies of which resolutions, herewithal sent, you may perc[eive] what we have done therein.[1]

After a tedious voyage arriving in Patania I found Mr. Chancey deceased, who with the rest of the merchants or factors had resolved to depart the 10th of October without making any longer stay for Mr. Gurney or his letters, although junks came daily from Siam to Patania (being the chief time of the monsoune) and knew well that I was ready to come, having also ample information that the Globe departed from Patania [the] 21st of October for the Coast through the straits of Sincapoura,[2] the easterly wind[s not?] blowing as yet, which resolutions (he having no authority thereunto) are both odio[us] and also to the hindrance of the Company that young men should presume so much [of] themselves without respect to their principals. A court being assembled after [our] arrival in Patania to see whether our resolution taken in Siam might be confirmed, wherein after all matters had been generally well debated and consulted upon (as your Worship may perceive per the copy,[3] unto which I refer you), I was constrained to take the charge upon me, the rather seeing the Company's service required the same, to avoid disorders which were growing amongst the merchants that were to go the voyage; also lest any trouble should arise hurtful to the Company here in Musulpatam through Mr. Flores, who by force took the Governor's son out of the Custom house, carrying

[1] See vol. iii., p. 157.

[2] In 1613 (see *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 325).

[3] See vol. iii., p. 178.

him aboard the Globe, having no other means to recover his debts, which the Governor ought him, being about 7 or 8000 rials, which he desperately attempted and happily performed the same, receiving in all his debts, which act perhaps through ignorance of our people might be aggravated, and that if the Governor or naturals should pretend anything concerning the same I would rather myself see the same redressed than by any other, we being bound one with the other in the voyage of the Globe.[1]

The goods of Patania embarked before my coming and all matters put in good order, we departed from thence the 17th of October towards Jor to further our voyage; but found (as did the Globe) the easterly winds not yet blowing through, so that we set sail soon enough; although it be dangerous for ships to depart from Patania for the straits of Mallacca that stay longer than the 5th[2] or 26th because that the easterly winds there on the coast do blow sooner than in the straits, whereby you cannot get off to seaward, and certain Dutch ships by staying longer have lost their passage.[3]

At the entrance of the straits of Sincapoura we found a Dutch man-of-war, carrying 36 pieces of ordnance, being of the company of ten or twelve more appointed for the siege of Mallacca with the aid of the King of Achene, whom he had been withal 5 or 6 days before our coming. What mischance was like to have happened unto them through misunderstanding and his great power your Worship may see in the resolution. And after we had had conference with the King of Jor, who came aboard our ship, we understood by him that the Achender was discontented with our nation, and that two of our ships that had been in Achene, which I presume to be the Hector and Thomas, who refused to assist him in the siege of Mallacco, so that he caused them to depart, not suffering them to trade; informing us also of the Portingalls' fleet that lay before Mallacca. But giving no great credit to him in all things, the next day we passed the straits, and, coming through the second straits, we had news that the King of Achen had been fighting with the Portingalls (being a fleet of four galleons, two ships, three galleys and twenty or thirty frigates

[1] See vol. iii., p. 318. [2] 25th ?

[3] It was of course necessary to work out of the port before the change of monsoon.

and bantins[1]) four or five miles short of Mallacca, off of the land Mouar, in the narrowness of the passage; so that our way was blocked up and beset, we remaining confused what to do, being not above 25 leagues from both the fleets, by which means we were constrained to confer together what was best to be done, not trusting the Achender through his tyranny, for the best that was to be expected from him was to force us to assist him; and what goodwill the Portingalls bear us is very well known unto your Worship. So that we stood in no small danger to lose our mounsone for coming hither this year, but that we were assured the Dutch fleet could not stay long, who came not all together through the sheathing of their ships at Bantam and Jaccatra, neither could be made ready all at once; which we understood by the man-of-war formerly spoken withal, and that their rendezvous was in the river of Jor; which encouraged us the more not to return again to the straits, but according to our resolution taken[2] we sailed in a bay under the island of Cardamon,[3] happening on such a fit place that no ships could pass from or coming towards Mallacca out of the straits of Sabon or Sincapour but must come in sight of us. Where after ten or twelve days that we stayed to wood and water, we perceived the Dutch fleet to pass, being eight sail, right towards Mallacca, whereupon, making ourselves ready, three days afterwards we followed them, staying so long that they might the better be entangled one with another that a more free passage might be made us, which in effect happened so; for coming before Mallacca found them lustily shooting with great ordnance one at another, and being calm we drave most part of the day in sight of the fort and ships, and towards evening we saw the burning of two ships. So we followed on our course, wishing our friends good fortune in their exploit.

By the coming of three Dutch yaughs[4] through the straits of Sabon we had news of the decease of General Downton aboard the Gift before Bantam: the loss of the Thomasine before Macasser in going out laden with mace and nutmegs coming from Banda, the people all saved: also the arrival of two small ships departed from England since Captain Downton and Captain

[1] See vol. iii., p. 332.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

[3] Carimon (*ibid.*, p. 333).

[4] Yachts.

Midleton's fleets, whereof they had spoken with one in Jambyn, being there to establish a factory, a fit place for sale of cloth and getting quantity of pepper, being not able to get any other particularities from them; they of Jambyn having no notice of us (although Jambyn be not above 50 or 60 leagues from Cardemon) nor receiving letters from them. The preparation for wars, as well in England as Holland, we partly understand, but know no certainty thereof.

After we had passed Mallacca we had a reasonable good passage until our arrival here, where, although I used all diligence to understand if any ships were arrived in Suratt, could never come to the knowledge whether any were come this year or no, neither could I get a pattimar to despatch away with these letters herewith sent, come from Bantam to Mr. Aldworthe, Mr. Edwards as other persons, wherein I make no question but they make mention of some particularities concerning the Company's business which is very needful for your Worship to know. I find also in the orders of the ship the Solomon underwritten by General Downton and Mr. Elkington, who have by information and experience found it profitable to buy in Suratt these sort of cloths following to the value of thirty or forty thousand mamothes and to send the same with the first ship that comes for Bantam, that will vent there and other places at good advantage:

Allejaes Amadavar.	Bacar Baroche.	Burralls & red Selaes.
Cassadra Nill.	Tapesell Matura.	Chautares Agra.
Broad Pintados of Bramporte.	Tapesill grande.	Berames white.
Pintados Pilgar.	Baftais white of 60, 70 and 80 ma. per cordge.	Patolas of 7 & 8 long.
Chador Pintados.		Chynts of Amadavaus.
Casanie Harier.		Duttas crew[1] or raw.

What you shall find more in the letters of General Downton, Mr. Elkington and Mr. Jor[dain] concerning the buying of the abovesaid cloths is unknown unto me; only I find by order as before mentioned that these are profitable sorts at Bantam and other places to the southwards, and require upon our arrival to give you present advice thereof, that if ships were there to have

[1] Crude? 'Unbleached' is meant.

the same sent with the first; and although I have been here about a month, I could not bring it to pass to send the same unto your Worship, thinking also that no ships had arrived there this year, at least I could get no knowledge thereof until the arrival of Peter Gilson[1] from Bramporte, that gave me to understand that your Worship was there with four ships[2] and that he in company of Sir Thomas Row departed from Suratt the 9th of November[3] for Brampour: also the decease of Mr. Aldworthe, with the ill dealing of the new Governor, with whom your Worships are much troubled, but it is not strange, being here not free from the same; for I have been here in the road about a month but cannot come to the unlading of the ship, which capital and goods amount unto (as your Worship may perceive by the copy of the factory), and besides about 6,000 rials belonging to the account of the Seventh Voyage, which I do not bring in the Joint Stock; and seeing by commission that this place is to be continued, which makes me stand out the more with the Governor, for now if at the establishing of the factory I should grant unto all his pretensions, it would be more hurtful to the Company than before with the Globe and James; for they were forced to undergo much wrong from the Governors (that are here farmers), not to lose their monsones and to further their particular voyages; which if I should have followed herein would have been established for a law. My hope is that no ships can come upon me this two months, which makes me contend the harder with [him] to see if it be possible if I may come to some reasonable agreement with Etmoatach[an],[4] Governor here. The Dutch have here procured with great charges and divers ambassages sent to Goul Conda, which cost their Company above 20,000 rials, to pay the King 3,000 pagothes (which is above 4,000 rials per anno) for the custom of their goods out and in here in Musulpatam; also they must pay the said sum whether ships come or not, [and] it is but for this place only, for in

[1] Pieter Gillesz. van Ravesteyn, afterwards head of the Dutch factory at Surat. He was one of the two merchants sent overland to that city to claim Van Deinssen's goods, as mentioned in vol. iii. (p. 304). His report on their journey will be found in the Transcripts (at I.O.) from Dutch Records, series I., vol. ii., no. 71, and vol. iii., nos. 87, 88. See also *supra*, p. 8, and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 233, 234, &c.

[2] Keeling is evidently the person here addressed.

[3] New Style.

[4] Itmád Khán (called 'Atmachan' in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 325).

Petipolee, which is 18 leagues from hence, they pay 3½ per cento. Here was also ordinarily paid in former times by the Dutch and the Globe and James 5 per cento; yet they let me have it for 4 per cento, but intends to get it up another way by buying goods under the market and make vile payment in goods unvendible and at excessive prices, which is ordinary here, besides other customs which they have here, which doth greatly abase the price of goods. And although the Dutch do prevent many of these inconveniences by reason of their costly firmans of the King, yet do not altogether escape but are also sufficiently plagued.

The sheathing of the ship here will be very troublesome to me through the exactions of the Governors, and Mr. Flores through the same occasion remained so entangled that he could obtain no leave to bring the Globe in the river of Narsaperpeta to trim her (having much ado to keep her above water) until the Governor had bought of his best commodities to the value of 5,000 pag., which caused him all these troubles here. They might easily at Bantam have prevented this costly river money, the Gift being there with so many carpenters, besides five that were in the Solomon; being no great labour to sheathe such a small ship; being also not ignorant, having had sufficient information by Mr. Flores what troubles he passed here through the like occasion. The Dutch in Jaccatra sheathed three ships in 35 days, which are in the fleet off Mallacca, being at least 800 tons each. It toucheth our reputation too near that we should not be able to do it there as well as they; for although they have continued here this twelve year they never sheathed ship, to take away all occasion whereby they might eat upon them.

Here is arrived a ship out of Holland named the White Bear, which brought 40,000 rials in money, at present turning under Silon[1] in company of two or three pinnaces and frigates (which they man out from the fort of Pallicatt, where they always keep above 80 soldiers) to welcome their friends[2] the Portingalls that come from Bengala, Tanassery and other places. As far as I can understand they are resolved to send the said ship from hence into Holland, having provision here of about 600 farthells of white yarn, of percalles moores, sallempories and other white

[1] Ceylon.

[2] This is, of course, ironical.

cloths; and shashes[1] for Barbary, 16 covatts long, 100 farthells; indico of divers sorts 1,000 churles; so that, provided herewithal and with that they can purchase more, they have means to send the ship from hence to Holland. But they were ill provided of money at Bantam, by means their fleet was not arrived that departed certain months before this ship and another in his company, which appears by this that they, being indebted to our Company, made payment thereof in white silk of Chyna.

Wherein I shall employ our capital here I cannot particularly declare, being not yet settled, but have order to employ for Bantam to the value of 10,000 rials, besides 100 [?] peculs of iron and some steel:

Gobaris rials	2,000
Tapesatasse	2,000
Tapichindaes	1,500
Tavites and Java Girdles	1,000
Red Betillies	3,500

and what besides I have found good per experience for Siam, Patania and Camboya. What may be profitable for England I will be careful to provide, according as the time will afford. I could wish your Worship would send me by this bearer, a servant of the house, all sorts and musters of indeco with their prices. They do here seethe it and make it not after the same manner they do there. I would gladly understand if there be anyone there that hath experience what hurt the seething can do unto it in the operation thereof in dyeing woollen cloths. Here is some very fine and good and may make it generally so but that in seething they mingle with it the rinds of certain fruit like green Spanish figs,[2] which makes it heavy and takes away his colour

[1] Turban-cloths.

[2] Sir George Birdwood writes on this:—'The absolute identification of this fruit is impossible. Two classes of vegetable substances are used in the manufacture of indigo; (first) those yielding a mucilaginous solution—provided in India by leguminous seeds—to assist in the fermentation of the indigo in the steeping vat; and it is possible that for this purpose the dyers of Masulipatam may have at one time used the so-called "fruit" [sorosis] of some one or other of the wild figs of India [*Ficus Indica*, *F. religiosa*, &c.]; and (second) those yielding an astringent [styptic, or mordant] solution to assist in the precipitation of the dye in the oxidising vat, as also in fixing its colour in the dyeing of cloths of all kinds. In the Deccan the bark of *Syzygium Jambolanum* is used in both these ways, and

more or less, according as they put thereof in. I fear I shall get but small quantity this year, the time being so far past, by coming too late and the best bought up by the Dutch; for that which is false and hard as stone, there is great quantities, but hold it not convenient to deal therein until advice out of England, the Globe having carried with her about 60,000 weight of all sorts, wherein sufficient proof shall be made and then we may proceed therein with a more surer ground. But what good indeco I can procure I will not fail to buy, as your Worship may perceive (notwithstanding our troubles) by the resolution and order I have taken in the same.[1]

I desire that order might be taken for the continuance of two or three sufficient pattamars between this and Suratt, that a good correspondency might be continued one with another and notice what passeth as well here as there, with all occurrences, to give advice of the same for Bantam or England. Good pattamars are here very hardly to be gotten, and being not to be trusted our letters fall into other men's hands; as those of Mr. Aldworthe received and opened by the Dutch after the departure of Mr. Flores, and although I required the same they say the letter is not here but in Pollicatt.

My abode will be here until the last of October or middle of November, and at my departure will leave merchants here with a commission provisional, if someone else do not in time arrive here with a ship from Bantam to succeed in my place. Wherefore, if your Worship bring with you any new orders for discipline or in any other nature, that you would send me notice thereof that at my departure (if another come not in time) I may know how to rule myself thereby.

The Concord hath been in Amboyna, accompanied with the Thomasine, which was appointed for Banda, but forced by the

it may be that the fruit of this tree was shown to Antheunis by the dyers of Masulipatam merely to indicate the source from which they derived their precipitant. The fruit ["myrobalans"] of one or other of the Terminalias [*T. Chebulica*, &c.] is also used in India in the dyeing of *kakhi* [*i.e.*, "dirty," "dirt"-coloured—compare *kakhrob*, "sweeper"] cloth, and the description here given might be taken to indicate a myrobalan, but unfortunately all these tanning substances are mordants, and concentrate and enhance the colours of dyeing stuffs, and do not dilute or reduce their natural quality as suggested in the text.'

[1] See vol. iii., p. 214.

Dutch ships to depart. The Concord coming for Bantam hath gotten in their way 30 or 40 bahars of cloves from the Portingalls after the old manner; and the Thomasine proceeding further for Banda, and having accomplished their business there, is as before mentioned miscarried coming out from Mocassar, where Mr. Chancey aforesaid was principal. And by the arrival of five or seven Spanish galleys, coming there from Tirnate for provision, they fought there with the Dutch ship in the road; whereby discord arising between the King, English and Dutch, he favouring the Spaniard, the two nations ashore united their forces together. But the King thinking to mend himself plotted a tragedy on the ship, wherein his son or the Sabander remained prisoner, and the rest most of them slain in the stratagem; whereupon the English and Dutch factors all fled in the Dutch ship (except an English quartermaster of the Globe that would not leave the Company's goods) and came with the said ship for Bantam. What further followed therein I know not. The Dutch goods, they said, are sequestered by the King but the English untouched, he that remained there being master of the same.

The Osiander departed from Patania the 5th of July towards Ferando in Japan, where Mr. Cox is principal, who by chance hath sold all his cloth through civil wars risen between the King and the son of him deceased. A capital sent by him with Mr. Tempest Peacocke for Cochinchine of 1,600 rials is there miscarried through the treachery of the King, and Mr. Peacocke murdered and the goods stolen. Also a junk bought and prepared by Mr. Cox and Mr. Adames (who hath been resident there so long, and by Captain Sares entertained in the Company's service) appointed for Siam the year past with the said Addames and Mr. Wickam, of whose departure I have received news by letters from Mr. Cox brought by other junks, but not arrived in Siam; what the occasion of her stay should be I could not learn before my departure. Her capital in money and merchandise, besides the junk and her equipage, was worth above 1,000*l.* sterling. I am of opinion that Japan will not prove for vent of commodities out of England near the expectation of the Company, the trade of the Dutch consisting most in Cheney commodities, that are sent from Patania.

Mr. John Gurney remained at my departure in Siam through the slow market occasioned by the war between the Kings of Ava and Siam,[1] and had not despatched above half of the capital he brought with him, but is by inventory brought to the general stock. Wherefore it is apparent that it will be long before all be sold, and in the meantime Mr. Gurney might in some place of greater importance do the Company better service. He was also appointed to have come in this ship and one Mr. Benjamin Farie remain there as principal. I hold Mr. Gurney a fit man for President of the Coast, whereunto he was ordained, and do wish his coming before my departure. Siam, if it were not for the wars, would yearly vent to good profit the value of four or five thousand pounds sterling in cloth of this place, besides what belongs to the trade of Japan. Patania consists most on the Chenia trade, where the Dutch by my knowledge have employed in one year 100,000 rials in white silk, stuffs, etc., besides divers cloths are vented there. Mr. Larkine remains there principal by provision, but was to come for Bantam. This year no junks arrived, by reason that many were cast away by an extraordinary storm and the Cheniases' ill usage by the Malleyers, which is occasion that we were forced to bring our capital unemployed with us.

Herewith, after my commendations remembered, I commit your Worship to the protection of the Almighty. This [*blank*] [2] February, anno 1615 [1616], Musulpatam.

Your loving friend to use,

Lucas Antheuniss.

Pray give the pattamar 7 or 8 mamothes for his charges on the way backwards.

Sir, since the above-written sent to your Worship I am come to an agreement with the Governor to pay four per cento for goods inwards and outwards; moneys pay here no custom. I have further brought it to pass to be exempted from other chargeable customs brought in, as also not to sell to the Governor; but how he shall perform his promise herein the time will teach us. Upon this assurance I have unladen the ship and got all the goods home from the custom house. What further passeth I will advise.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 322. [2] '1st,' see next page.

Here is certain news sent from Pollicatt, four Dutch miles from St. Thome, where the Dutch have a fort furnished with 130 or 140 soldiers, that the Portingalls arm themselves, as well in St. Thome as Nigapatam, with 1,500 or 2,000 soldiers for a certain exploit. It is much feared their designs aim at the Dutch fort named Geldira; and we that are here are not without fear, for they might easily ruin these places, having such a force. The ship also, by means of the shoal water, rides above four miles off from the bar, whereby we should have little or no assistance here ashore from them; neither can we make any ground on the Moors and heathens of the land, nor yet make houses of any defence. The Dutch have a great capital employed both here and in Pettepolee, and our coming therewithal might easily move the Portingalls to seize upon these places to wrong us here ashore, seeing they can little prevail at sea. If the fleet shall pass Pollicatt the President will presently send the ship with a pinnace and frigate to assist them here. In the meantime I keep the money aboard till further advice, seeing that within this eight or ten days we shall have certain news whereunto their practices tend.

By means of a certain Venetian come with our ship from Bantam I would not let pass the sending of the copies of my aforesaid letters of the first of February, fearing lest they should not come to your hands, the land being altogether revolted and in an uproar, occasioned through the war betwixt the Mogull's son[1] against Nissamshaw[2] and the King of this place named Cattabashaw.[3] The bringer hereof goes by the way of Brampour, from whence he promises to convey these letters for Suratt, and from thence to Agra where I have also sent the copies hereof unto your Worship.

So with my commendations remembered, I commit you Worship to the protection of the Almighty.

The 15th of February, anno 1615 [1616], Musulpatam.

Your loving friend to use,

Lucas Antheuniss.

Addressed: To the Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight,

[1] Parwíz. [2] Nizám Sháh of Ahmadnagar.
[3] Kutab Sháh of Golconda.

Ambassador for the English nation, resident in Agra, dd. in Agra. By Juan Baptista, Venetian.

Endorsed: [ ] my Lord Ambassador at Agra, 1616, and sent by the Lord Ambassador to the Factors at Surratt. Received in London by the Globe the 5 of September, 1617. Ext[racted].

340

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Firando.

Ossakey in Japon, the 20th of February, 1615 [1616].

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you, with desire of your good health as my own.

You shall understand that since your departure I have sold away all the wax for 17 tayes the pecull, to be paid me half in hand and the other half three months hence; likewise I have sold away all my pepper for six tayes the pecull. I have sent by this bearer, the Dutch host['s] son of Miaco, a thousand tayes of Nagato plate to Captain Cock.

I would have written you more at large, but I have no time. Only Oman's[1] mother takes on for her daughter and says I have sold away her daughter to one that will carry her out of the land of Japon, and in regard whereof she is minded to have me before Ingadon[2] about her. I wish that you nor I had never meddled with her, for that I am like to come in trouble about her. I have sent you her keremon[3] by this bearer, as also a cotabera[4] and a pot of painting which her mother hath sent her; likewise she hath sent you by this bearer a bundle of figs for a token. Your keremon that you left with my hosts of Miaco to dye for you is not as yet done, neither do I know when it will be done; but

[1] Referred to by Cocks (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 118) as 'Woman, Mr. Wickham's girl.'

[2] 'Inga Dono, Lord Chief Justice of Japon' (*ibid.*, p. 159).

[3] *Koromo*, a robe.

[4] *Katabira*, a summer robe.

as soon as I can I will send it to you. Concerning the fans or anything else you would have me send you, write me word and I will do it. Sadedon[1] the King's secretary is dead, who died some ten days since, as it is reported. At present Ossakey is here on fire and there is seven streets already burnt, at least in them 500 houses, and still the fire is very vehement and is like to do much harm by the reason the wind is so big. It began some two or three streets from our host's house that now is. And thus for present, being in great haste, I end, committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty God.

Resting always

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

I pray you commend me to kind Mr. Nelson. I would have written him a letter, but that I have no time.

Addressed: To his very good friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this be dd. in Firando.

Endorsed: 1615 [1616], March 4th. From Osacay, by the Dutch.

341

A Court held in Pattania the 24th of February, 1615 [1616], by us, Robert Larkin, Chief Factor for the Honourable East India Company in this factory, Benjamin Farry, Wm. Sheppard, George Savadge, John Broune, and Richard Pitt, and assisted also by Mr. John Gourney, appointed Chief Agent for the Coast of Coromandel.

WHEREAS, by virtue of a former court[2] held by the factors of this factory and of the Solomon, assisted by Mr. Lucas Antheuniss, chief merchant of the Seventh Voyage, the Solomon proceeded to Muselpatan on the coast of Cormondell, departing the 16th of October,

[1] Cocks calls him Sada Dono, and says that he was father to Codgskin Dono, the Shogun's secretary (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 117; vol. ii., p. 85).

[2] Vol. iii., p. 178.

as despairing of the coming of Mr. John Gourney in time from Sciam to observe due monsoone, who was appointed chief agent for the Honourable Company their affairs at the coast of Cormondell, and to commence with the business of the Solomon and the 7th of November after the departure of the said ship the said Mr. John Gourney arrived here with some moneys and purcelane, and about the same time quantity of benjamin arriving here also from Camboja for account both of the Seventh and Ninth Voyages: it hath been thought good and generally agreed upon that a junk should be bought (which was done, and prepared) to carry the said Mr. John Gourney and goods to Bantam, where we expect will be in the meantime provided a round cargazon to accompany the said agent and such goods as from hence he bringeth, agreeable to advice given by Mr. Lucas Anthoinisse, who in the meantime supplieth the place of chief merchant of the said Solomon. Further, whereas the ship Advice, after much striving to obtain Jappon and failing, returned by way of Sciam to this place according to order in such case and arrived the 3rd of December, upon which consultation was had to find what was fit for this ship to do, and finding that the merchant Mr. Yeward[1] was dead, and considering by all likelihood that Mr. Coxe at Jappon is weakly assisted and that therefore if his life should fail a havoc might follow: and also being that this master's mate was dead, besides some other of his men, and no man fit to govern the ship to the port if the master should fail: and also imagining that the Honourable Company, our masters, do order yearly supply to Jappan, we have thought good, as well to make the ship's company sound and factory at Jappan, as also to take in such goods as this year may be destinated to that place, to avoid charge of another ship: and considering also the prolongation by going to Bantam might with indifferent diligence be included within two months of the time from hence, we have generally agreed that she shall return to Bantam before she farther essay to Jappon.

And this resolve being made, we have considered of the fitness of some of the sorts of the goods of Camboja to serve these factories, and according to some experience had have taken to

[1] Youart (see vol. iii., p. 316).

serve this factory and that of Sciam as by the particulars in our advice herewith doth appear; and the more encouraged thereto knowing means to new furnish at Bantam. We have had also consultation whether to transport the goods here gathered for Bantam by the ship or the said junk, now called the Pilgrim, and concluded rather than to pay the great Somba[1] of eight hundred rials (which, the ship lading, must be paid), and holding the junk for her means, strength, and goodness fit to serve betwixt this place and Bantam, Sciam and other factories, have thought good and resolved to proceed with her. And also having laden privately aboard the ship Advice some part as appears, enjoining them that as much as in them lieth to keep company the one with the other until their arrival at Bantam.

John Gourney.
Robert Larkin.
Benjamin Farie.
John Brown.
George Savage.

Endorsed: 1615. A Court held in Pattania. Copy.

342

Richard Cocks to [the East India Company].[2]
Firando in Japon, the 25th February, 1615 [1616].

[RIGHT Worshipful, May it] please you to understand that the Osiander arrived [here] the last of August past, having first touched at Succadania and Pattania, which caused her so late arrival, which hath been a means of her so long stay in this place to new sheathe and trim her, which, not without much labour, is now performed. In which

[1] A present (Malay *sambah-an*), especially the one required from every ship lading at the port (vol. ii., pp. 112, 123, 129).

[2] Partly printed in Cocks's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 274. This is the letter sent to the Company per the *Osiander*, which sailed on February 26 (*Diary*, vol. i., pp. 114, 115). It is in a very damaged condition. There is an abstract of it under the same number, as also a copy of Cocks's letter of January 1, 1616-17, for which see No. 424.

ship I received the copies of the general and particular letters it pleased your Worship [s] to send to the chief factor at Bantam and the rest, the contents whereof I will (so near as I can) see performed; being right glad that all are now united into one, a thing much desired of us all.

I make no doubt of the safe arrival in England of Captain John Saris our general, who left order that all of us should receive half of our wages yearly from our arrival in Japon, which was the midst of June, 1613, [in] money of the country and not to rate the riall of eight at [5*s*.], which will not go current for 4*s*., and that a respect [should] be had to Wm. Eaton and Edmond Sayer, the [wages of the one] being 18*l*. and the other 12*l*. sterling per annum, which is not [sufficient] to find them clothing and other necessaries.[1] [Upon the] arrival of the Osiander with your Worships' letter, we perceive your express order that no man shall [draw] above one third part of his wages and the rials [of eight shall] be rated at 5*s*. Whereupon we have [set] down per a general council to take notice thereof from the arrival of the ship and to stand to what shall be provided herein by your Worships at Captain Saris' arrival in England. And so the 31st or last day of August we shut up the books for the account of the Eighth Voyage, all since going upon account of the Joint Stock.

Hereinclosed goeth the letter I sent in the Sea Adventure the last year for Siam,[2] but she being by extremity of weather and by means of her leakiness put into the islands of the Liqueas, lost her monson and returned to Firando, and this year is set out again, Mr. Wm. Adames going captain and master in her, and Ed. Sayer for merchant. But we took 500*l*. sterling in five bags rials of eight out of her cargazon to send for Bantam in the Osiander, sending only as much as was [deemed] needful to lade her if she should lose her monson and be [put] upon the coast of Camboia. She departed from here [the 7th] day of December last, having had a fair wind; God [send her a] prosperous voyage.

I know not whether it be come to your [Worships' knowledge the] conclusion of these great wars in Japon, [wherein Fidaia] Samme, the son of Ticus Samme, lost [his life, with the]

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 6, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

slaughter of above 100,000 men, which took his [part. Some] report he was burned in his castle, it being fired; others think he escaped and is in Shashma or the Liqueas. His mother cut her own belly, and his little child was executed by command from the Emperor, as also all others were the like which were known to take part with him; and Osakay and Sackay, two great cities, burned to the ground, not so much as one house being saved, your Worships losing goods,[1] which were burned, to the value of 155 ta. 4 ma. 8 condr., as appeareth per account sent to Captain John Jourden, your Worships' agent at Bantam, I not having time to write them double per means of despatching away this ship. And much ado have I had to bring matters to rights by means of the confusedness in the Red Sea both [by] mis-packing and otherwise, so that to this hour [I] neither have had time to amend it, having [also been] busied about building both of house and junk [and none to] help me but Mr. Wm. Nealson, who hath [been sick] and as yet is not well, and the troubles in [ ] and a gadong or warehouse yet to [build before the] ship is put to sea; so that [I thought it] fit that John Osterwick shall stay here [ ] for that our want will require it, God send [ ] to return in safety, which will be [ ], the rather for that Gilbert Cuning[2] is dead, who was entertained into your Worships' service at gages of 20*l.* sterling per annum, as I formerly in my other letters noted, the copies whereof I sent to Bantam per a Dutch ship by Captain Henrick Brower, who delivered them in safety to Captain Jourden, as he advised me and that he sent them for England per Captain David Midelton. These letters hereinclosed are verbatim the same.

And in respect of the great charge that men are at here to buy them apparel and other necessaries, it is agreed per general consent that each man that is employed for a merchant shall have 20*l.* sterling[3] per anno allowed him, he which hath the least. As also per same council it was ordained or set down that Mr. Richard Wickham should have an allowance of 150 taies per

[1] 'Broadcloth, duttis, and lead' (abstract).

[2] The abstract adds that he was a Dutchman who came to Japan at the same time as William Adams.

[3] 'Or eighty taies' (abstract).

anno, which is thirty [seven] pounds, ten shillings per anno, from his first arrival [at this place], he alleging it costeth him much more[1]; and [therefore both] he and the rest do leave the consideration the[reof to your] Worships to be considered of.

[May it plea]se your Worships to understand that the last year [we entertained] an Italian mariner to go in our junk for Syam, named Damian Marina, and another Castalliano[2] called John [de Lievano] went with him; which coming to the knowledge of the Portingales and Spaniards at Langasaque that they had served the English, they laid hands on them and carried them prisoners aboard the great ship of Amacan.[3] The which being made known unto me, I wrote a letter to the Capitan Major of the ship, willing him to set them at liberty, for that they were not under his command nor jurisdiction, but under the English; and to the like effect I wrote another letter to Gonrocq Dono, chief Governor at Langasaque for the Emperor; but had a scornful answer from the Portingale and nothing but words from the Japon. Whereupon I got a letter testimonial from the King of Firando to the Emperor, how these two men were entertained into service of the English, and Mr. Wm. [Adames] being above with Captain Ralph Coppendalle to carry a [present to] the Emperor, gave him to understand of this matter, [who gave] his command forthwith that the two men should be [set at liberty] and all their goods restored to them; which was [thereupon accomp]lished to the great heart's grief both of [the Spaniards and Port]ingales, they having condemned them both [to death] and sent priests to confess them and exhibited [a process] against them to Gonrock Dono, as against traitors [to their] country and friends to the English and Hollanders their enemies; which process the Captain Major delivered both in Japon and Portuguese with his ferme[4] at it. But that in Portuguese Gonrocq Dono sent to the King of Firando and he gave it unto me, which hereinclosed I send unto your Worships,

[1] The abstract adds: 'I say this was done at the important [importunate ?] request of Mr. Wickham, Mr. Copindalle alleging that it was Mr. Jourden's desire it should be so.' Cp. the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 108.

[2] 'Of Navare' (abstract).

[3] Macao.

[4] Signature.

together with his letter written to me, in which is manifested that they hold both English and Dutch for their enemies.

But that which vexed them the most is that the Hollanders took a Portingale junk on the coast of Japon laden with ebony wood the greatest part, with tin and certain bars of gold and much conserves; which junk, with all that was in it, men and all, the Emperor alloweth for good prize, and is [to] be thought that Mr. Wm. Adames was a chief occasion to move [the] Emperor thereunto, he first asking Mr. Adames wherefore [there was] such hatred betwixt the Spaniards and Hollanders, for [that it w]as told him their Princes and Governors were [friends in all] other parts of the world and that it seemed strange [to him that they] should be enemies here. Unto which Mr. Adames answered that it was true they [had been made] friends of late years per means of the King [of England] and other potentates, but yet notwithstand[ing the King of] Spain did think himself to have more right [to these] parts of the world than any other Christian prince, by [reason] of the footing he had gotten in the Phillippinas and in other parts of the Indies, and therefore per force meant to keep all other nations from trading into these parts. Unto which the Emperor replied and said the Spaniards had no reason, and therefore, seeing it was a difference or dispute amongst us which were all strangers, he would not make nor meddle in the matter, but leave it to their princes to decide at home. But, said he, what is the occasion they take men as well as goods? Because, said Mr. Adames, the Spaniards take the Hollanders and have 150 or 200 of them prisoners in the Phillip[pinas, for] which occasion the Hollanders do use the like [treatment to] their people, man for man, and goods for g[oods. To which] the Emperor answered that they had [reason]. Thus much have I thought good to ad[vise you of].

The Hollanders this year have laden [a ship of] 500 tons and a junk of 150 or 200 to[ns with] beef, biscuit, rice, wheat, barley and peas [ ] shot and powder, iron and sorts of iron [ ] they carry to the Molucas, this place being their storehouse and only supporter to keep possession of that place[1]; for besides this provision they have succours of men both for

[1] Cp. vol. iii., pp. 239, 241.

sea and land as they please, being a desperate, warlike people and ready to adventure for good pay. I make account that Captain John Saris hath informed your Worships before now how the Hollanders misused us in the Mollocos and how ready the people of the country were to have taken our parts if we would have set footing there, and to have cut the throats of all the Hollanders, esteeming them much more vile than the Spaniards in respect of their baseness and poverty, having deceived them of their expectations in promising them succour against the Spaniard [to set them] at liberty, but having got footing are [now much] more insupportable than ever the Spaniard [or Portingal] was. Thus much I have also thought good to [advise you of].

Moreover, may it please your Worships to [understand that this] year is a ship[1] arrived in Japon at Quan[to], which came out of Nova Espania from Ag[uapulca], and hath brought good store of broad [cloths, kerseys] perpetuanos and other stuffs, which they sell at base [rates]. The Viceroy of India[2] sent two priests (or jesuits) ambassadors to the Emperor with a present, thinking to get them footing into Japon again; but the Emperor would neither receive the present nor yet speak with them, but sent Captain Adames to tell them they should avoid out of his dominions, he having formerly sent away all others that were of their coat, and was not minded to alter his determination. It is thought the Emperor is the more bent against them by reason he is informed that before this ship came from Aguapulca there was proclamation made that in pain of death both Japons and all other strangers should avoid [out] of New Spaine and never return to trade there again; whereupon the Emperor made proclamation [that from henceforth] never any Japon shall trade [to New] Spaine. Thus much Captain Adames told [me; also that the] Emperor gave him counsel not [to sail on Japon] junks on no voyage,[3] but rather stay in [Japon; that] if the stipend he had given him were n[ot sufficient] he would give him more. But he answered his [word was] passed, and therefore if he performed

[1] 'A Spanish ship, or rather a Japon, builded per Spaniards and Japons' (abstract). See also vol. iii., pp. 241, 250, 254, 264, 291.

[2] Of the Philippines.

[3] 'Many of them every year miscarrying' (abstract).

not his w[ord it would] be a dishonour unto him. Yet truly, at his return to Firando I offered to have quit him of his promise and to have sent him to Edo to be near the Emperor upon all occasions; yet would he not be persuaded thereunto. But the truth is the Emperor esteemeth him much and he may go and speak with him at all times, when kings and princes are kept out.

Mr. Adames told me his time of serving your Worships two years at one hundred pounds or 400 tais per anno was out before he went towards Syam; yet would he receive no pay till his return, willing me to certify your Worships that he thought 100*l.* a year very little and would be loth to engage himself any more at that rate. [Also he] willed me to desire your Worships to let his wife have [thirty or forty pounds] sterling to supply her wants of herself and child, [if there were any] need, and he would see it repaid here again [upon receipt of] your Worships' letter or his wife's bill of exchange as h[e].

[May it please] your Worships to understand that the Emperor [hath commanded] all the Tonos (or kings) of Japon to come to [his court and] bring their wives or queens with them for [to remain there] the space of seven years.[1] He will no [char]ges of sons, daughters or kindred, but they themselves and their queens with them, and each one to keep house by himself and have a servant of the Emperor always near them to understand what passeth. He allegeth it is for their goods he doth it, to keep Japon in quiet, which otherwise would still be in broils. So now all the kings and queens of Japon are bound prentice to the Emperor for seven years, and this Tono or King of Firando departed from hence towards the court twelve days past, he being a bachelor, the Emperor having promised him to give him his brother's daughter to wife.

[Also] it is said that the Emperor hath appointed one Tuan [Dono, a] rich man of Langasaque, that at his own charge [he shall go to the] wars and take in an island called Fermosa [off the coast of] China, for which occasion he is now making [ready boats and] other provision. But some are of opinion it

[1] See the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 99.

[is to seek for Fid] aia Samme, the fugitive prince, either in the [Lequeas or else] where he may be found.[1]

[The king of] this place was indebted to your Worships for moneys [and merchandise] sold to the value of two thousand [hundr] ed and odd taies, whereof he hath made payment [ ] but some nine hundred taies, and promised and left order with his bongews to make payment of the rest forthwith; whereupon we have trusted him with three thousand tais in merchandise, to be repaid within a year per his bill, viz.:

Per 100 picos pepper at 6 tais per pico.
Per 40 tattamis broadcloth at 13 tais per tattamy.
And the rest in cloth Cambaia, viz.:
Per baftas white, one with another as they come, 10 mas [per] piece.
Per buxshaws, double piece, at 9 mas.
Per boralls or footachaders double, 9 mas [per] piece.
Per Candeques mawy, at 4 mas per piece.
Per Chintz Amad [avad] at 8½ mas per piece.
Per foota harer, 3 and 4 double, at 13 mas [per] piece ditto.
Per footas, single so called but double, [per] piece 8 mas.
[ ] ditto of a worser sort double, at 7 mas [per] piece.
[Chaders[2]] of Cambaia double, at 8½ mas [per] piece.
[Tapis, coarse,[2]] double, at 6 mas per piece.
[ ] at 7 mas per piece.
[ ] fine, at 15 mas double piece.

If the King had not taken them [they would] never have been put away at such a p [rice; for the] baftas were so stained and spotted and some [that no] merchant would buy them at any rate neither g [ive us what] he paid for the rest. The Hollanders sold him [pepper] at 5 tais the pico, and have trusted him for [ ] thousand tais, whereof one thousand was in money, and have given him very rich presents in respect of their prize and carrying out victual and munition. Our broadcloth was most of it moth-

[1] See the *Diary*, vol. i., pp. 80, 131, etc. The expedition proved a failure

[2] See p. 60.

eaten and would hardly have been put away at 7 or 8 tais per tatta [my]. The King doth take these merchandise to pay his grandfather's debts, and giveth it to them at good rates and now payeth no interest, and so per taxing his subjects will within a year or two bring himself out of debt. His chief men and bongews are bound to make payment to us, so there is no doubt, neither of any other debt is owing your Worships, but [such as are] specified per account; and good justice against [such as do] not pay. But this wars hath brought the [merchants] behindhand.

And touching procuring trade [into China, I] am still of opinion it will take effect, [and look for] good news within few days touching the [ ]. Andrea Dittis, the China Captain of this place and [Whaw,] his brother at Langasaque, are the principal [ ] and tell me continually that it will [take] effect. We had by chance here a letter of the [King's Majesty][1] left in blank to be directed to whom was thought needful, which letter Mr. Raphe Coppendall, captain of the Osiander, brought; and we directed it to two great noblemen near unto the Emperor, per counsel of the aforesaid two China captains, and sent therewithal four Japon cattans with four pieces fine white cowters,[2] and four looking-glasses, the glasses being things much esteemed of in China, and the largest the best. The superscription of the letter was as followeth: To the great and powerful Lords, Chisian Dicuco and Ticham Shufno. These two men were made acquainted with the matter at first, and made answer that we might have entrance if we sought [ ], which hath been a chief occasion that hath made me to [further] the matter in all that I may. These two China bro[thers, Andrea] Dittis and Whaw, are great merchants and will [ ] merchandise in this place than all the Japons in F[irando. Andrea Dittis? was] governor of the Chinas at Manilla in the [Philippines, and] in the end the Spaniards picked a quarrel on [purpose to seize] all he had, to the value of above 40,000 tais, [and put him] into the galleys, from whence he escaped some nine years [since] and came to Firando, where he hath lived ever since. He saith there can nothing cross us in our pursuit of entrance

[1] Cp. vol. iii., p. 321. [2] 'Chowters' is meant (see vol. i., p. 336).

but only the Portingalls of Amacan and Spaniards of Manilla, who have great trade into China, and if they come to knowledge of our pretence, will not want to give largely to cross our proceedings; and therefore hath still desired to pass all in silence till they have received the Emperor's pass for our entrance; to which effect I have wrote Captain Jourden to Bantam, and the like to the chief at Syam and Pattania, to the intent all Chinas may be kindly used and not beaten and misused as heretofore I have seen them at Bantam, and truly much a [do also] I had to keep some from doing the like here in Firando. [And now] let this suffice touching that matter, which God grant may [take good effect].

[If it will] not be offensive to your Worships I would a little touch [upon the sorr]ow and care I have and yet do live in, ever since [I came into Japan], by reason that hitherto I have not done [you any] especial or profitable service, but rather spent [all or the] most part of that we brought with us, the necessity [of these] troublesome times requiring no less, and the Hollanders [going] beyond us in like occasions. Yet heretofore I have found by experience that the servant or factor which in his employment bringeth in much benefit is highly esteemed; of which hitherto I must confess I neither have nor yet could perform, although my best endeavours have been done, as I take God to witness, and hope your Worships are so persuaded.

The Hollanders have cast about 20 pieces of ordnance since the Osiander arrived here, some of brass or copper and some of iron. But these Japons are not very expert in that faculty [and] especially in great pieces. There is three sorts of copper, one at 9 or 10 tais per pico, and other two sorts worse, as at 8 and 6 tais per pico. I have caused the founders to make a certain quantity of brass shivers[1] of several sorts to send to your Worships for a sample; [they co]st us ready made 12 taies the pico; and some shot of iron [for great] ordnance, which cost 12 and 14 mas per pico (is 7s. sterling), [ ] at [*blank*] pico and cross bar. [Also that] if your Worships do send a man that is an expert [into th]ese parts, he would make ordnance for a third part of that which it costeth in Eng[land] like, and will

[1] Pulley-wheels.

serve for ballast under spices from [ ]. Also provided samples of 3 sorts iron, and sent for Ban [tam for] trial if it be vendible there, viz. as it cost the

	Ta.	m.	co.	
One sort flat and broad bars about 2 foot long and 4 inches broad .	[2	o	o	per pico]
2nd sort, square short bars, little more [than] an inch square and 1½ foot long	1	5	5	[per pico]
3rd sort, not a foot long and round, ragged, being the worst, at . .	1	3	o	[per pico]
	4	8	5	

If it will sell at Bantam, here is store to be had and ships going empty to Bantam might be so employed.

[Here] is also most excellent work in varnish, both chests, contors,[1] boxes, bubes.[2] and other matters; but they will take up much room in shipping; it may be, more than they are worth. I have likewise sent samples of cloth to Bantam, of what sizes they shall make their cloth of Cambaia and how to paint them; which being so made will sell here in great quantity.

And may it please your Worships to understand that the last year our junk being at Liquea, and losing her monson, returned to Firando, because they might not be suffered to tr [affic or] stay there; only they bought a small quantity [of wheat? at] less than a mas per sack, which is mo [ ], and, as it is said, much is [ ] king of Shashma if it be known [ ] So that little good was to be done at [com] manded to depart from the Liqueas. Yet it fell out that the King of Shashma passed by this place with [an army of] 60,000 men, whom I went and met at sea a league off [with] a present, Mr. Wickham accompanying me; which present he took in very good part and offered us free trade into his country and as large [privi] leges as we had in any other part of Japon. But as yet we cannot make trial, for want of commodity fit. Yet we have gotten [the] Emperor's

[1] Desks ('contor or scritorio.'—Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 9). In lieu of this the abstract reads: 'For varnished or makare [*makiye*, lacquer] work, it is here curiously made, of all sorts: contors, trunks, cups and other fashions whatsoever; but dear, and much carried into New Spain per way of Manillia.'

[2] Screens.

letter since to the King of Shashma to let us have [trade into] his dominions, whereof the Liqueas is a part.[1]

[I] have here by me, which I now send to Bantam in the Osiander:

	Ta.	m.	co.
9 cattis and 14 tais or ounces ambergreese at several prices, cost	959	3	5
4 cattis musk in 86 cods at 12 tais per catty amounts unto	048	0	0

I was afeared to have meddled in ambergreese, but Mr. Wickham counselled me to buy it, he having formerly bought two ounces[2] of it at Lequea; the other 7 cattis and 14 ounces we bought here in Firando, and I remember I have sold as bad as the worst of this in France in times past for 30 French crowns the ounce, and 16 of these ounces make 22 of our ounces in [England]. I say I send 9 pounds (or cattis) and 14 ounces (or tay weights) [of amber] greese, cost nine hundred fifty and nine tais, three mas [and five condrins] and four pounds (or cattis) musk, cost forty and eight tais, together with] three thousand and two hundred tais in plate[3] [ ].

[I have] forgotten to advise your Worships that here hath been reports [ ] our English Company and the Hollanders shall be all joined into [one, and the Dutch] and English do speak thereof. Yet the other day [some Dutchmen] coming to the English house and amongst the rest one [named] Claus Harmanson began to speak about that matter, which, as he [said], he thought would hardly take effect, the Hollanders having spent so much money and cost so [many] men's lives about the setting foot into the Molucos. I answered that the money was not so much but a reckoning might be made thereof and the English able to pay it. Y[es], said he, but what recompense shall be made for the lives of our dead men? Unto which I replied that if the Hollanders would reckon aright, they rested much indebted to the English nation in that p[ar]t, for that for one Hollander that had lost his life in conquest of the Molucos (as they term it) there had twenty Englishmen lost their lives in

[1] See vol. iii., pp. 239, 243.

[2] Apparently an error for 'catties.'

[3] The abstract says 1,200 tais in rials of eight (1,500), and 2,000 tais in Japan plate in bars.

driving the Spaniards out of the Low Countries and making the Hollanders a free state. Unto which he knew not well to answer but laughed it out.

There is another matter which under your Worships' corrections I would [speak of], and is of divers seamen (or sailors) which have [been left] in these parts of the world because they were sick [or at lea]st feigned themselves sick when the ships they [belonged to] were ready to return for England, only being sick [for a time and living] afterwards in idleness, as most of them [do no work but roam] from place to place, whereas if [ ] to learn goodness [ ] allows as sufficient to spoil a [ ] many by evil counsel; which to prevent [there is no] other way but to call such persons home and send still [others] in place; I mean, to employ landmen on land and seamen for sea occasions. This is my opinion and I hope your Worships will not be offended with my writing thereof. I might speak in particular of some which came from Bantam in this ship, the Osiander, but will leave that to Mr. Ralph Coppendall, [the] captain, and others who found it by experience what dangerous fellows some of them were; and had it not been for the [ ] justice we have here against the Spaniards and Portingales in the setting of Damian Marina and Juan de Lievano at liberty, I think divers of them would have run away to the Spaniard, for so some of them gave it out they would have done. And many of them have brought themselves much in debt on shore that it is a shame to be spoken of, only presuming that your Worships will be forced to pay it, which truly I will withstand in all that [I can] and not pay a penny.[1] I am sorry to write your Worships [thus; y]et I write nothing but the truth, leaving it to your Worships' consideration, etc. I received a letter from [Captain Saris], dated in Soldania Road at Cape Bona Speranza [the first of June[2]] 1614, where he met with the Concord, the first ship sent upon the Joint Company; [wherein he speaks] of bad reports were given out of him by them [aboard the] Hector, but

[1] The abstract says: 'But I deceived them of their expectation in the Osiander, not paying anything, in respect I had gotten a commandment at first from the king (as the Dutch did the like) not to trust any mariners except they bring money, upon pain of losing the debt.'

[2] See the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 48. The letter is no longer extant.

I esteem the false reports of so [ ] mutinous company will do harm to so [ ] commander, but rather turn to to their own disgraces [ ]. He also advised me of a ship or two your Worships meant to send [for] this place with English cloth and other commodities thought fitting. God send them to arrive in safety, for now all our cloth is sold. White broad cloth is much inquired after, as also yellow and black, as also a cloth called Cullor du Roy and other mingled colours; but for Venice reds, flame colours, gallant colours, pink colours, popinjays and greens no man will buy them; but stamets are good. Also kerseys of like colours, with perpetuanos and other stuffs will sell, it may be to better profit than broad cloth. It will be good if your Worships please to make trial of all sorts. And I think if you send a hundred or two of pistols or dags of a foot or a foot and half long that they would sell; but there must be store of flint stones sent with them, for here is none, and now of late dags or pistols come in request in the Japon [ ]. As also they delight in light and nimble pieces rather [than in] such heavy long ones as your Worships ordinarily send. Hereinclosed I send the balance [ ] is an overplus of 342 tais 3 mas [ ] side, but in the bal[ance] departure from hence there rested [ ] eight on the debitor side, but [ ] will examine over all anew and find out the error [which now] I cannot do, the ship being ready to depart. [ ] could I not bring matters to balance till Mr. Wick[ham and] Wm. Eaton sent me down account of matters above.

	Ta.	m.	co.
Also hereinclosed goeth the cargazon of goods and moneys se[nt in the] Osiander for Bantam amounting unto . . .	4,468	9	7
And the cargazon goods and moneys in the junk for Syam is	2,923	6	3
And I have disbursed for the account of the Osiander delivered Mr. Coppendal	2,586	6	8
And for trimming and setting now out of the junk at her going to Syam, upon joint stock	1,387	4	7
	11,366	7	5

And I had almost forgot to note down that, at receipt of your Worships' letter, I made known unto the Hollanders the Spaniards' pretence against Bantam, Molucos, Surat and other places; which they took in good part, telling me that they had the like advice from the States and therefore had taken the best order they could to prevent them, and for [ ] they were so well fortified that although the [Spaniard] got the better at sea, yet could he not [ ] their fortresses in two or three years.

[May it] please you to understand that the Osiander not being [full, the] Hollanders desired to have lading for as much of [their ebony] wood as she could conveniently carry, which after consideration we took in some 800 picos; but would make no price for freight, but left it to the discretion of the chief at Bantam on both parts to do as they thought good, because the Flemings should not give it out they freighted our ship, but that we did that we did rather to pleasure them than for any profit we made. Also the ship which came from New Spain to Quanto brought news of six or seven sail [of] great ships which were passed the straits of Magellanies into the South Sea,[1] where they had done much spoil, so that all the country was up in arms, and, as they report, set out shipping to look for them, but it is not known whether they met with them or no; neither know they whether they [be] English or Dutch.

This is all I have to advise your [Worships of at] present, leaving you with your affairs to the holy [protection of the] Almighty; resting always

Your Worships' most humble at command,

Ric. Cocks.

[merchand]ise remaining above the price [ ] vendible, neither would we [ ] the cost, but leave them as they are [ ] first two thousand tais, besides her [ ] now is new trimmed again, but that goeth on the [ ] junk. Neither do we speak of the housing which [ ] the adventurers of the Eighth Voyage in much money, but leave all matters to your Worships' discretions to do therein as you [please]. Herewithal goeth a letter from Wm. Eaton, your

[1] These were Joris van Spilberghen's five ships, which left Holland in August, 1614. See also vol. iii., p. 255, etc.

Worships' servant, who both hath and is able to do your Worships good service. His wages is but little, the which he desireth your Worships to have consideration of. We have great want of [paper ?], wax and sealing [ ].

No address. Endorsed: Firando [in] Japon, 25 Feb. 1615 [1616]. Mr. Richard Coxe. Per Dragon.

343

Richard Cocks to Richard Westby at Bantam.[1]

Firando in Japon, the 25th of February, 1615 [1616].

MR. WESTBY, Your letter dated in Bantam the 10th of April[2] came to my hands at Firando in Japon the 31st day of August following by the Osiander, she having first touched at Succadana and Pattania, which made it so late before she came to Firando, and was a great marvel she had not lost her monson.[3] The pair of knives you sent me I received, and give you hearty thanks for your good remembrance.

I am sorry to understand of the deaths of so many of our good friends; yet I know we must all follow after, when it pleaseth God. All the Englishmen which came in the Clove, except myself, have been very sick, so that I expected no life of any one of them; yet now are they well recovered and in good health, all except Mr. Nealson, who is not half current. Captain Adames and Edmond Sayer are gone in the junk called the Sea Adventure for Siam, and Mr. Wickham, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Nealson remain in Japon and have them commended unto you.

The white baftas that came in the Osiander were very ill-conditioned, being most part of them spotted, stained and some rotten. And the wax was so bad that no man will give half the price it cost for it, and falleth out much short in weight, it coming

[1] Westby was then at Jambi (see vol. iii., p. 323).

[2] Not extant. Its receipt is noted in Cocks's *Diary* (vol. i., p. 48).

[3] For a journal of this voyage, written by Rowland Thomas, the purser, see Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2121.

open, in small pieces, without being packed in rolls or cask, as I never saw wax the like before. As also the pepper falleth much short in weight, but that may be in the drying, and much that was pumped out, the ship being leaky. We cannot as yet brag of any great profit we find in sales; only we live in hope time may amend it, which God grant. All our broadcloth is sold and given away, as our presents and gifts have cost much for the settling of us in a strange country.

Also we have had great troubles and wars in Japon since our arrival, which hath put us to much pains and charges in sending up and down to save our goods, and yet for all that some is lost and burned, two great cities being burned to the ground, each one of them being almost as big as London and not one house left standing, the one called Osakay and the other Sackay. And, as it is reported, above 300,000 men have lost their lives on the one part and other. Yet the old Emperor Ogosho Samme hath prevailed, and Fidaia Samme either slain or fled secretly away, that no news is to be heard of him.

Also since the Clove departed out of Japon, the Emperor hath banished all Jesuits, priests and friars, and pulled down all their churches and monasteries. They put the fault in the arrival of the English in Japon; yet let them think what they list, I hope they will never be permitted entrance into Japon again. It is said that Fidaia Samme, the young prince, had promised them entrance again if he had prevailed against the Emperor, which, out of doubt, if it had happened, we had been all driven out of Japon; and therefore better as it is.

Herewithal I send you a Japon standish as a token of my good will, which I pray you accept of in friendship, and if there be anything in these parts which you have a desire unto, do but write me and it shall be provided. And so, with my hearty commendations to yourself with the rest of our good friends, I leave you all to the holy protection of the Almighty, resting always

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his very loving friend Mr. Richard Westby, English merchant, in Bantam. By the Osiander, whom God preserve.

344

Richard Cocks to John Gourney at Siam.[1]

Firando in Japon, the 26th February, 1615 [1616].

SIR, My last unto you of the 6th of December,[2] sent per Captain Adames in the junk called the Sea Adventure, with a cargazon of goods and moneys amounting unto 2,923 tais 6 mas 3 condrins; which I make no doubt is come to you in safety long time past. Yet, having opportunity to send per way of Syam,[3] I would not want to write you these few lines.

Yesterday I despatched away the Osiander; yet by means the wind is short, she rideth at an anchor at Cochi, a league from Firando. The great Dutch ship and a junk bound for Bantam went out two days before, but have had but a bare wind. The other Holland junk departed from hence towards Syam the 22nd of December, by whom I wrote you a letter[4] with three others, viz. one for Mr. Adam Denton to send to Pattania, and two others to Captain Adames and Signor Ed. Sayer.

We have sold most part of the merchandise which came in the Osiander, some for money and the rest at time, whereof the King of Firando hath had for 3,000 taies, viz.[5]

Pepper of Bantam at 6 taies the pico.
Pepper of Pattania at 7 taies the pico.
Baftas white at 6, 8, 9, 10 and so to 15 mas per piece.
Buxshawes at 9, and some 10, mas per piece, double.
Chint Amad. at 8½ mas per piece.
Chaders of Cambaia at 8½ mas per piece.
Footas single of 2 sorts, at 7 and 8 mas, double piece.
Tapis, coarse, at 6 mas per double piece.
Lead at 6, 6½ and some at above 7 tay per pico.
Wax at 17 taies per pico.

And some remnants of broadcloth remaining, 40 tatta [mis] at 13 tais per tattamy.

[1] The despatch of this and the following letter, 'per small Duch yaught,' is mentioned in Cocks's *Diary* (vol. i., p. 114).

[2] See vol. iii., p. 245.

[3] Pattania?

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[5] Cp. p. 50.

So now we have little or no merchandise, which maketh me to write unto you that if you have any India cloth lying by you that will not away, you may send some by the Sea Adventure, if this letter come to hand before she come away or else per some other junk, if any come for Langasaque, directing your letters to Melchar Van Sanfort,[1] a Hollander, who will send them to me in safety.

Silk beginneth now to rise in price; for Canton silk, which was sold at the arrival of the Amacan ship for 165 tais the pico, is now worth 220 or 230 tais the pico; and Lankyn silk worth above 300 taies the pico; red wood at 3½ tais the pico.

Two days past I received a letter from Mr. Wm. Eaton from Miaco, wherein he advised me they expected the Emperor's coming to Miaco on a sudden with the King of Edo his son. The Emperor hath sent for all the Tonos (or kings) of Japon to come to Edo and to bring their wives (or queens) with them, and there to stay seven years. The king of this place departed from hence to go to him ten days past, most of the others being gone up before.

I pray you let this letter suffice to Captain Adames and Ed. Sayer, in showing it unto them, if they be not come away before it come to your hands. And so I end, with hearty commendations in general, leaving you all to the holy protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To the Worshipful John Gourney, Agent for the Right Honourable English Company at Syam, or, in his absence, to the next being in place, dd. in Syam. Per the bark Jaccatra and per way of Pattania.

Endorsed: Received the 26th of March 1616.

[1] See vol. iii., note to p. 245. He had been cape merchant of the Dutch ship in which Adams was wrecked.

345

Richard Cocks to Adam Denton at Patani.

Firando in Japon, the 26th of February, 1615 [1616].

MR. DENTON, My last unto you was of the 6th of December,[1] sent per way of Syam in the Sea Adventure with a jar of biscuit marked as in the margent; in which letter I advised you at large of the needful. So now, this small yacht of the Hollanders coming directly for Pattania, I would not want to write you these few lines.

Yesterday I despatched away the Osiander, she riding at an anchor a league or two hence, expecting a fair wind.[2] We have had much ado to trim her; yet it is now performed, she being new sheathed to the keel. The great Holland ship and a junk bound for Bantam went out two days before her, but the wind hath not been very good.

We have sold almost all the merchandise which came in the Osiander, some for money, some for time. Most of them which came from Bantam were ill-conditioned, I mean baftas, some spotted and stained and others rotten; so some were sold at a tay per piece, some for 9 mas, 8 mas and some for 6 mas [per] piece.

The white gyngams you sent are all sold at 7 mas per piece, but the coarse lie by the walls; and to say the truth the white were very coarse cloth. The boxshaws are all sold for one tay and some for 9 mas, double piece, for each piece containeth two. In fine, we are now without merchandise; so that, if you find fit opportunity and passage, you may send some more coarse cloth, viz. white baftas, duttis, pintados or such like; I mean, if you find no vent there you may send them hither. It may be this small Dutch yacht will take in what you will send. We have done them as great a pleasure in the Osiander. Once you may make trial, and the worst is you can have but denial.

All the remnants [of] broadcloth we had, being some 40 tattamies, we have sold together at 13 taies per tattamy to the

[1] See vol. iii., p. 249.

[2] An account of the voyage to Bantam will be found in *Marine Records*, vol. xxiii.

king of this place, with other sorts [of] cloth [of] Cambaia and pepper to make up 3,000 taies; the pepper of Bantam for 6 taies the pico, and that of Pattania at 7 tay per pico, and lead at 6, 6½, and some at above 7 tais [per] pico, and a parcel [of] bad wax brought from Bantam at 17 tay per pico, and a drug called ganty,[1] some at 6 and some at 10 tay per pico; the largest is the best.

Silk now beginneth to rise in price; for Canton silk, that at coming of the Amacan ship was sold for 165 tais per pico, is now sold for 220 tais [per] pico; and Lankin silk worth above 300 taies per pico. And so let this suffice for prices of commodities.

Two days past I received a letter from Miaco from Mr. Wm. Eaton,[2] wherein he adviseth me the Emperor is coming from Shrongo to Miaco with his son the king of Edo, where all the Tonos (or kings) of Japon must meet him. The king of this place set forward ten days past. It is said they must all stay above at Edo for the space of seven years, and to that intent are commanded to bring their queens with them. Herewithal I send you another jar of biscuit, marked as in the margent, not knowing whether they find conveyance to send you the other from Syam. I pray you accept of it in good part.



Hereinclosed I send you the other letter I wrote you the last year per the Sea Adventure, she losing her voyage; but the jar of biscuit therein mentioned is gone again (as I said before) per way of Syam.

This is all I have to advise you of for [the] present, and so I end with hearty commendations, leaving you to the protection of the Almighty.

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Post scriptum.—If any Japon junk chance to lade this year at Pattania, although she go for Langasaque, you may send what you please in her and it will be brought hither to Firando for a small matter. You may direct your letters to Langasaque to Melchar Van Sanfort, a Dutchman our friend, who will forthwith send them to me. R. C.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 334.

[2] Not extant.

Mr. Wm. Adames is gone captain in the junk, and Ed. Sayer merchant, for Syam; but now all is directed to the Agent for joint stock. Here is reports that Mr. John Gourney, the Agent at Syam, is dead and that Mr. Sheppard is in his place. I hope it will prove an untruth.[1] Herewithal enclosed goeth a letter for the Agent at Syam, the which I pray you send with all speed that may be, that if it be possible it may come to his hands before Captain Adames' return with the junk. I know not what else to write. R. C.

Endorsed: Received the 26th of March, 1616.

346

The *Zamorin* of Calicut to King James.[2]

Underecoon Cheete, the great Samorin or King of Calicut, etc., to James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, etc., Greeting.

WHEREAS your subject and servant William Keelinge, Esquire, arrived in my kingdom in the month of March, 1615 [1616] with three ships to my port of Cran-ganor, in latitude 10 degrees 15 minutes, and at my earnest solicitation came on shore to see me, where was

[1] This rumour, which was entirely false (see vol. iii., p. 315), was mentioned at p. 240 of the preceding volume.

[2] This carelessly-drawn document embodies the agreement made by Captain Keeling with the Zamorin of Calicut, in March 1616. There is another contemporary copy among the Pepwell papers in *Marine Rec.: Misc.*, vol. ii., but it presents no difference of importance. A third copy (modern) will be found in vol. viii. (p. 307) of the *Factory* series. Purchas has printed the agreement at p. 603 of his first volume.

Keeling was passing down the coast, on his way from Surat to Bantam, when [March 4] 'there came a *Tony* [canoe: see *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Doney] aboard us, with messengers from the *Samorine* to the General. The next day the Governor sent a present, and entreated the General to go to Cranganor, which the day after we did, and the chief men sent from the *Samorine*. . . . . On the eighth, the General went ashore with Master Barkley, cape merchant, and others, where they received kind usage, and concluded to settle a factory' (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 603; cp. also *ibid.*, p. 531, and Woolman's letter in the appendix to the present volume). Three factors, a gunner, and a boy were accordingly left there, George Woolman being appointed chief. In April they moved to Calicut, where Woolman

concluded by me for my part, and by himself for the English nation, as followeth, viz:

As heretofore I have ever been an enemy to the Portugales, so I purpose to continue for ever.

I do hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my successors after me; to endeavour the taking in of the fort of Cran-ganor,[1] and to possess the English thereof as their own, together with the island thereof, containing in length in sea coast nine miles, and in breadth three miles, provided I purpose to build therein a house for some of my own people to the number of 100 persons.

I will also endeavour, with the aid of the English, hereafter to take in the fort and town of Cochin, belonging formerly to my crown and kingdom, and then to deliver it into the possession of the English as their own proper land and possessions, provided that the charges of the surprise thereof be equally borne, the one half by myself, the other half by the English nation, and the benefits of the spoil thereof, in whatsoever quality, the one half to belong to me and the other half to the English nation; the Samorin to have thenceforward no right, title or interest in the town, fortress, precincts or appurtenances of Cochin at all.

And the Samorin doth likewise covenant for himself, his heirs and successors, that the whole trade of the English in whatsoever commodity, either in- or exported, shall pay, yield, or allow no manner of custom, imposition, tax or toll, or any other duty of whatsoever quality.

died a few months later. On the 21st March, 1617, Captain Pepwell arrived with his fleet, and, finding matters in a very unsatisfactory position, determined to withdraw the factory. Most of the goods left there had been sold, but it was impossible to obtain payment. The Zamorin's principal object in entertaining the English (as is clear from these articles) was to obtain their active assistance against the Portuguese; and, when this was not forthcoming, he ceased to interest himself in their proceedings. The country itself, said the factor in charge, 'neither gave vent to ours, nor produced commodities in any quantity or at reasonable rates to return for England' (O.C., No. 596).

'Underecoon,' which is given as the name of the Zamorin, is probably 'Púnturakkôn (king of Púntura),' which, according to Logan's *Malabar* (vol. i., p. 237*n*), 'is still one of the titles of the Zamorin Mahárájá Bahádur of Calicut.' Peyton (in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 531) says 'the king's name is Pendre Quone Samorine.' 'Cheete' appears to be the Malayalam *Chetti*, generally applied to a member of a trading caste (see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 144).

[1] Kodungalúr, 'on the so-called island of Chetwái, at one of the three openings of the great Cochin backwater, 18 miles N.N.W. from Cochin town' (*Imperial Gazetteer*).

And to these covenants, which the shortness of time did not permit to amplify, I the Samorin have sworn religiously by the great God I serve to perform accordingly; and that not for myself only, but for my successors after me. In witness thereof I have laid my hand upon this writing as within.

And the said Keelinge doth promise to acquaint the King his Majesty with the premisses, and to endeavour his Majesty's undertaking thereof accordingly.

In the port of Cran-ganor, dated aboard the Dragon, the 10th of March, anno 1615 [1616].

Endorsed: Translation of the Samorin's letter for England and privileges to our Nation, March 1615 [1616].

347

William Adams to Ed. Saris. Siam, [15] March, 1615 [1616].[1]

[*Missing.*]

348

John Jourdain to [the East India Company].[2]

Laus Deo in Bantam, the 17th of March, anno 1615 [1616].

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, My duty remembered, with my daily prayers to God for your healths and good success in all your affairs, etc.

May it please you to understand that by the *Gift*, who departed from hence the 21st of December last, I

[1] This description is taken from the MS. list, which was drawn up in 1831. There is no note that the document was then missing; but probably it was, for a sheet of blank paper which occupies its place has the same water-mark (1830) as the list itself. In any case it was missing in 1862, for there is a note by Mr. Sainsbury to that effect.

[2] Portions of this letter (here printed in italics) are in cipher, but they have been deciphered in the margin. The cipher is the one employed in No. 174 (vol. ii., p. 144), and with the aid of the additional information thus acquired, two corrections may be made in the transcript of that document; in line 25 the italicised words should read 'countries of cloves, nutmegs, and mace,' and in line 29 the blank should be filled by 'nutmegs and mace.'

advertised[1] at large [all] things; therefore in this I will be brief, because of the uncertain conveyance, referring what wants to my former written by Mr. Tho. Elkington, who went home in her, succeeding the General according to your order.[2]

Since which time here arrived the 29th ditto the Clove and Defence, which ships, for divers causes moving us thereunto, are sent in company of the Thomas and Concord, with direction first to go to the *Celebes* to receive all such *rice and money* as is there provided for them fitting for the places where they are bound. These four ships departed from Jaccattra the 20th of January, having stayed there about ten days to take in water and other provision. They have order not to stay at their first port above ten days at farthest and from thence to direct their course *for Banda*, there to set *aland the Bandaneses* who came hither to demand succour of us.[3] And having ended their business according to the directions given them, *to Amboyna, Hitto, Lugho and Cambello*, and other places near there adjacent; where I doubt not but they shall have very good entertainment if *our neighbours the Hollanders* doth not use their accustomed kindness towards [them], as [I] know they will do their worst in preventing our trade *of cloves and mace;* for they do not let to blaze abroad that they will *take our ships and bring the people prisoners to Bantam;* which if they deal according to their words, I doubt there will be some bickering first before they effect it; which if there be the fault will lie on them. For th[em], according to order they are to be entreated by us with all kindness. Their business being there ended in the places above mentioned, and having taken certain notice and made diligent inquiry concerning the *Portugales' and Hollanders' fleet*,[4] *of* what *force* they are in the *Mallucas;* which if they understand not to exceed and able to resist without danger, then to proceed thither where Captain *Saris* was,[5] as also *to visit Tidor* and other places which are by the captain

[1] See vol. iii., p. 272. [2] See vol. iii., Introduction, p. xxvi. [3] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

[4] By the omission of some dots from one character the cipher here reads 'fleet'; the contemporary decipherer has consequently mistaken the word for 'fight.'

[5] Early in 1613 Captain Saris, on his way to Japan, passed through the Moluccas proper, calling at Bachian and other places; but the Dutch prevented him from obtaining more than a small quantity of cloves (see vol. ii., p. 1, and Saris's journal in *Purchas*, vol. i., p. 348 *et seq.*).

above-named well known as also *to the master of the Clove*, not doubting but they shall get some goodness for their commodities which is laden in the ships, of Cambaia cloth to the value of *twenty* thousand rials, besides all the goods which the two ships brought out of England; only the iron, some lead, three packs of cloth and the elephants' teeth I have landed at Bantam, and the rest, if it cannot be sold in those parts for *cloves*, that it be sent in the *Thomas* for *Japan*, who is to depart from thence in May next, at which time the monson will serve for that place, as also to return for Bantam; being thought most needful that that ship should proceed in the voyage, having most need of careening. John Baylly is to go factor in her and George Balle[1] to return in the smaller ship and remain at *Sacadana* with Hugh Greett,[2] for heretofore that factory hath been weakly managed, having better hopes of Mr. Balle, both for his experience and good carriage as also for his sufficiency, that being a place of great hopes. In these ships goeth chief commander Captain Castledon until they separate themselves; only he hath the command for sea causes and George Balle, John Bailly, Sophony Cozicke[3] and Hugh Greete for merchandising.

Nath. Elly,[4] merchant of the Defence, stayed here at Bantam and is lately deceased, taking of a surfeit *aboard the Hollanders*. So we remain very weak at present, having lately three dead out of our house and many of the rest sick; Samuel Boyles newly recovered of a great sickness and at present fallen down again; having only him which can do anything belonging to a merchant.

The Hector is not yet come from Tecoo, and as yet no news of Captain K[eeling] from Surate. We have news [of] the Solomon's departure from Pottany to Mussulapotan; Mr. Lucas Anthenis gone in her captain [and] merchant, Mr. Gorney coming too late from Siam and the ship gone before his coming. He doth determine to come for Bantam in a junk (if more

[1] See vol. iii., p. 319. [2] See vol. iii., p. 336. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[4] Nathaniel Eile was recommended to the Company in April 1615, by his master, Mr. Hamersley, as 'a young man of 23 years of age, who hath served him seven or eight years, and hath three more to serve, having been employed into Turkey and Gretia for his said master, can keep accompt of debitor and creditor, and hath attained the Turkish, Greek, and Italian tongues, and hath knowledge in all kind of Turkish commodities'; and he was accordingly engaged on the 13th of that month.

convenient passage fail him) with a small quantity of benjemin; daily expecting his coming [and] the Osiander or Advice from Japon, by whom I doubt much that we shall not be so well furnished with *silver* as we expected, for that by letters received from Pottany I have advice of the casting away of a great junk which Mr. Cocks sent for Camboia, wherein was captain Mr. Adams, and merchant Mr. Wickham, wherein he had a great adventure besides the junk, all to the value of *ten thousand* rials; but I hope we shall hear some better news of them.[1] But in the meantime our *stock of money* is but *small*, we being indebted for custom, and our debitors by reason of the bad year past not able to pay anything, owing us in pepper and money above 30,000 rials; but for the money which is owing I have for the most part China commodities in pawn to the value of 7,000 [rials], which will be hardly released until pepper be ripe; notwithstanding these men which are our debtors are accounted to be the principal merchants of the country. The Hollanders are in the like case with them and have more owing far than we, and by divers poor men.

Thus craving pardon of this brief writing. The cause is that here is express command to carry no letters upon great penalties.[2] Therefore I leave until farther opportunity of conveyance, praying always for the happy success of your honourable proceedings to the glory of God and reputation of our country and nation. Amen.

Your dutiful servant to be commanded,

Jno. Jourdain.

No address or endorsement.

[1] The report was of course false (cp. p. 44).

[2] Evidently the letter was sent home secretly on a returning Dutch ship.

349

W. N[icholls] to [the Agent at Bantam].[1]

In Achen, the 23rd of March, 1615 [1616].

SIR, It may please you I have sent two letters formerly by a prow fraught herehence by Chinas, the one bearing date the 15th of January past,[2] delivered into the hands of Quey Sequen, merchant, and the other, bearing date the 31st ditto,[3] delivered into the hands of a Dutch gunner, Averett, who went passenger in the said prow pro Bantam. By which two letters I have advised at large of all occurrence and goods fit to be bought there for this place, viz. purselan of the largest size; platters and bowls of the largest size, with some few sorts; gold twist of the largest size skeins; taftas red, black and blues, Seda lingam,[4] etc.

For the Coast, as Meslepotan, Collimat or Negapotan, here is goods to be bought profitable likewise, those merchants of those parts having here bought the same, viz. brimstone, worth here 2½ tayle the baharr, sold at Meslepotan per the Hollanders for this king's account pro 12½ pegoads, each pegode being half a tayle of this place; moreover, camphor and benjamin are both profitable goods. Also these drams[5] are worth 25 in the hundred profit upon the Coast.

There is no fear of return herehence, as at first I had, provided a factory at Meslepotan. So may be vented great store of Serratt goods here by the trust to that factory.

The vendiblest Serratt commodities in this place and coast are blue baftas of 60 and 80 ma[mudis] per courge: blue candiques of Brochia: steel called Besse Mallella: cotton wool untowsed: all four sorts will vent here in abundance: other sorts, some small quantities, viz., blue sealas, couricomes, byrams, blue choulters, and simians white, blue messafees, catchambangs, and half chirans of the finest with a red list.

[1] A rough copy, made by Nichols himself.
[2] See p. 3.
[3] Not extant.
[4] See p. 7.
[5] See pp. 7, 8.

I have bought of the Ambassador of Meslepotane and other merchants of that coast, viz. :—

6,015 pieces of Besse Mallella at 40 tayle per ml.[1] is	240 08
6,150 pieces of Leda Courbow[2]: 5,000 pieces cost 6 tael 9 m. per mil.: 1,150 cost 12 mass per c.[3] maketh	041 07
15 corge 15 pieces Tappie Chindas at 2½ tayle per corge	039 06
1 corge 19 pieces dragams at 7½ tayle per corge .	014 10
5 corge 3 pieces Sellimbot Serrassie at 18 T. 12 m. .	096 09
1 corge 10 pieces Tappie Serrassie at 8 tayle per corge	012 00
	444 8

The foresaid Besse Mallella is worth in Tecoo readily 18 ryalls of eight or the value in gold, to say 1½ tayle, mass plankis,[4] per C.

Leada Courbow I understand per experience to be worth 4 ryalls per C. [ ].

Tappy Chindas in Bantam worth 16 ryalls of 8 per corge.

Sellimbot Serrassie, worth 18 ryalls of 8 per corge in Bantam.

Dragams and Tappie Serrassies worth there 3 ryalls of 8 per piece.

And accordingly I hope are now worth; by which our charges here will be gained and profit of sales here pursed by sales of Serratt commodities.

It may please you I have paid unto Simon Simanson Rizor, Captain [of the] Hollanders, 50 tayle, to repay into your hands 60 tayle in Bantam, maketh ryalls of eight at 3 ryalls ⅕ per tayle 192, as per one of his three bills hereinclosed; and is so much lent him here to defray their household expenses, they not having money, goods nor credit here.

This King is setting forth his galleys for to destroy the provision [ ] building which the King of Gore[5] is making, here being news that he is making a strong city. They are to depart herehence forthwith. For other news here is none; but at the

[1] Thousand. [2] See p. 5. [3] Hundred.

[4] 'Mass' here means 'gold'; 'plankis' I cannot explain. [5] Johor.

next ship ['s] arrival of our country I shall be resolved here by the King how or what grant he will make me touching the stablishing at Tecoo. His drift is that if the Gogeratts' shipping come hither and we remain at Tecoo we shall dispossess them of their wonted relading of pepper by our continual buying it up; also these nobles' profits will be stopped if we trade continually there, according to my former letters; being wont to buy cloth here and send it for those parts, insomuch as I find them opposite to my suit with the King in that behalf, although otherwise more respecting an Englishman than a Fleming here, the Portingalls having reported to the King and nobles here both that our King was far greater than their Prince and that they stood more in fear of one English ship than five Flemings.

I hope within this 25 days to have shipping here from Serratt, General Best having arrived here in anno 1613 the 12 of April, and the Hector following the last April arrived the same day in that month. By the first that is bound for Bantam of our shipping I purpose to send the foresaid goods, when I shall be able to advise touching the stablishing at Tecoo. In the meantime God bless you and send us all good events in the Honourable Company's service.

Yours at command,
W. N.

350

Agreement between Captain Castleton and the Dutch, March $\frac{16}{26}$, 1616.[1]

ALSOO wij ondergeschreven Commandeur ende de Presente Raeden mondelinghe gesproocken hebben met den Generael Samuel Castelton, d' welcke met zijne vier scheepen ende een Jacht ten ancker gecomen is geweest op de Reede van Poulowaij in Banda, ende dat den

[1] This is the original document, signed by the Dutch commander and his council The editor offers his cordial thanks to Dr. W. Roosengade Bisschop for assistance in making a correct transcript of this important paper.

voorsz. Generael geswooren ende verclaert heeft bij seeckere acte[1] onder ons berustende d'jnwoonders vandt voorsz. Eijlandt Poulowaij met minste gheenderleij assistentie heeft gedaen van eenighe Ammonitie van oorlooghe, te weeten van cruijt, loot, Coegels, lonten, ofte eenighe stucken groff gheschut, noch oock veel min van Victualie ofte Volck aen d' selve gegeven te hebben, omme die vandt voorsz. Eijlandt van Poulowaij te helpen, assisteeren ofte t'selve tegens ons meede te helpen defendeeren. Soo ist dat wij onderges. Commandeur ende de Presente Raeden aen den voorsz. Generael Castelton belooft hebben ende belooven mits deesen de Engelsen opt voorsz. Eijlandt Poulowaij, in haere loge weesend, alle faveur te doen die ons mogelijck is; mitsgaders henluijden met alle haere Coopmanschappen t' voorsz. Eijlandt Polowaij commende te veroveren vrij ende liber van daer te laeten vertrecken, met haer Jacht daer toe door den voorsz. Generael bij ons gelaeten. Ende het voorsz. Eijlandt niet veroverende sull de voorsz. Engelsen aldaer laeten blijven in sulcker manieren als die aldaer tegenwoordich zijn. Aldus gedaen ende gegeven opt Schip t' Waepen van Amsterd. deesen 26^en^ Martio a° 1616.

Jan Dirckz. Lam.

Gioan Vernadt.	Steuen Doensz. van Groenendijck.
J. D. Jonge.	Ghijsbrecht van Vianen.
Jan Roossengijn.	Adriaen van der Dussen.
Willem van Griensven.	Ths. Zuerius, 1616.

Endorsed: The Dutch relation concerning Captain Castleton and his proceedings in the Isles of Banda, &c., 1616.

350 A

English translation of the foregoing.

WHEREAS we hereunderwritten, the Commander and the Council at present, have face to face spoken with the General Samuel Castelton, who with his four ships and a pinnace came to anchor in the road of Polloway in Banda; and whereas the said General hath sworn and declared

[1] Professor Heeres has kindly searched for this paper in the archives of the Hague, but unfortunately without success.

by a certain act remaining by us, that he hath in no manner of wise assisted the inhabitants of the foresaid island of Poulloway with any kind of munition of war, viz., powder, lead or small bullets, great bullets, match, or with any pieces of ordnance, much less with men or victuals, therewith to assist those of the said island of Poulloway or to help to defend them against us: therefore we hereunderwritten, the Commander and present Council, have promised and by these presents do promise unto the said General Castelton to do all the favour we can unto the English that are in the said island of Pollowaye, being in their lodge, and to permit them to transport themselves and their goods frank and free in their pinnace, which the said General hath left here by us, so it cometh to pass that we conquer the said island; and so it happeneth that we do not conquer the same, we will suffer the said English to remain there in the same manner as they are at this present there. Actum et datum in the ship called the Arms of Amsterdam, the 26th of March anno 1616.

Gioan Vernadt.	Jan Dirccks. Lam.
J. D. Jonge.	Steven Doensz. van Groenendyk.
Jan. Roossengyn.	Gisbrecht van Viam (*sic*).
Willem van [Griensuen].	Adriaen Vander Dusse.
	Ths. *Zuerius*, 1616.

351

Instructions [from Captain Castleton and his Council?] to Richard Hunt [March, 1616?].[1]

RICHARD HUNT, These are to give you to understand that there is an agreement between us and the Hollanders, wherein they have promised and agreed to give all the kind usage, respect and furtherance unto you that may be, and to suffer our pinnace to stay there to the performance of our business. And we are further agreed that if so be the Hollanders do conquer the island you are presently to get your goods aboard and come away; but if it so happen the

[1] A copy only, without date or signature.

Hollanders have the repulse, then you are to stay there and trade with the country people as formerly, and despatch away the pinnace with such goods as you have, having a special care that in no wise you take any party either with the Hollanders or the country people, but keep yourself quietly in your house; and if you misdoubt any treachery by the country people, you may get aboard the pinnace and stand off, or repair to the Hollanders, of whose friendship you may be assured. During the time of your being ashore you are to do your best endeavour for the gathering in of your debts.

352

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Osaka or Miako.

Firando in Japon, the 30th of March, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, I wrote you in brief the 23rd of March[1] and sent it per the servant of Tomedono our neighbour, who departed on such a sudden that I could write no larger.

I hope you had a short voyage, if you had the wind as we had it here. We expect the timber and nails,[2] for the carpenters stand still for want of them. If Mr. Eaton cannot come of the sudden, yet I hope you will send away those matters. You cannot want barks that carried up rice that will take a reasonable freight rather than return empty; and amongst the rest that of Tomedono, if you had not taken freight in another before she came to you.

I have not any matter of importance to write you; only the King of Shasma passed by this place with [ ] barks (as it is said) on Good Friday, being the 29th of March. I went aboard his bark with a present of two damasked fowling pieces, two barrels [of] wine and fish, *nifon cattange*.[3] The Dutch went also and Captain Speck thrust in before me to deliver his present, which was a fair looking-glass and 3 or 4 tatamis[4] of broadcloth,

[1] Not extant. [2] For the repair of the English godown (see Cocks's *Diary*).
[3] Japanese fashion. [4] See vol. iii., p. 334.

with some pieces [of] China stuffs given to other his followers. I told Captain Speck openly (that I think the King of Shashma heard me) that he knew well my place was to have gone [before] him, and caused our juribasso to say as much [ ].[1] So it may be Captain Speck wisheth now he had not been so forward. I delivered the King of Shashma the letter we procured of the Emperor to have trade into the Liqueas[2]; but he gave me no answer, yea or no, only he sent one of his chief men after me to the English house to thank me for my presents, both now as also the last year, and withal sent me ten bars of plate for a present, weighing 43 taies, which I told the nobleman which brought it I would accept of in respect it came from so great a King, yet should have held myself very well contented although his Highness had sent no present at all. He also told me that at the King's return from the Emperor he meant to visit our English house at Firando, and then would give me answer touching the Emperor's letter I delivered unto him. He went afterwards to the Dutch with the like present of ten bars [of] plate. Captain Speck presented a supplication to him (as I think) to have had trade into his dominions, but, as I understand, is deferred off till his return back from the Emperor.

All your good friends here, both hes and shes, are in good health and commend them unto you. Mr. Nealson is as yet at the baths at Ishew,[3] from whom I received a letter two or three days past, wherein he writes me he hath been exceeding sick, yet now on the mending hand, and that the water hath done him very much good; he meaneth to stay by it till the 10th of April.

I think it were good if you went to the King of Shasma with a present of wine and fishes, and offer him our service. I make

[1] Cp. the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 123. Cocks, who always maintained the English claim to precedence over the Dutch (*ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 7, 252), was much incensed at this presumption, and complained of it, not only to the native officials, but to Speck himself. 'His answer was: he knew no reason to the contrary, and that in these parts he took the Grave Moris and the Estates of Holland to be as much as the King of England, if not more' (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 127).

[2] Cp. p. 53.

[3] The island of Ikshiu, where there were some hot springs, much frequented for medicinal purposes (*Diary*, vol. i., pp. 80, 118). Cocks had visited them in 1614 (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 268), and Nealson went a second time in 1618 (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 39).

account you have been with the King of Firando with the like before now. But at any hand lend no money.

I wrote Mr. Eaton to bring some writing paper and paper for books; [put] him in mind thereof if he should forget it.

Since your departure from Firando I received a roll of hard wax from Langasaque, the half whereof I sent to you in one of my former letters.[1]

Here is speeches that the Emperor hath given the King of Firando leave to come back and that he will be here shortly.

And so, with my hearty commendations to yourself and the rest of our good friends, I leave you all to the protection of the Almighty.

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

We have entertained a young man of Langasaque, called Pedro, for porter [at] one tay per month. He speaketh [Portu]guese and writeth Japons better than Gorezano.[2] I hope the mother of Woman[3] hath not troubled Mr. Eaton about her Co John.[4] Your jurebasso carried a pair of knives of mine with him, which Mr. Eaton gave me. I pray you bid him send them per first that cometh, for I do not mean to give them him.

Kept till the 1st of April.

Here is flying reports that the Emperor is dead; others say that Frushma Tay[5] is killed, coming from Edo to Miaco; which is the occasion the King of Shashma taketh this voyage, pretending war. And even as I had written the three former lines, your letter dated in Osackay[6] came to my hands by the barkman which carried you up. I am glad you have provided the timber and nails, for we stay for them. I wish you had written me your variable news to see how they concur with ours here. Hereafter

[1] Of the 12th; not extant (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 119).

[2] The English *jurebasso*, or interpreter. Pedro soon got into trouble, and was dismissed.

[3] See p. 40.

[4] 'Co. John, Mr. Eaton's boy,' is repeatedly mentioned in Cocks's *Diary*. For his fate see p. 103.

[5] 'A great lord or prince in the north' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 125).

[6] Of March 22; not extant (*ibid.*, p. 125).

I pray you advise me at large of each variable report, for amongst many lies something may proceed from truth.

As yet the King of Shashma is at an anchor in the road of Firando, where I went to visit him.

R. C.

Kept till the 3rd of April.

The doubtful news of the Emperor's death continueth still. The King of Shashma is in that road of Firando still, except he went out this night past.

Addressed: To his very loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, dd. in Osakay or Miaco. Per conveyance of our good friend Captain Jacob Speck.

572 [1]

A Relation of such abuses as hath been done to the English merchants by Zulpherchacon,[2] Governor of Surratt and other subordinate officers under the great Mogoll.

1615, November.

1. THE Governor gave to our General a choppe[3] before we landed our goods to the effect that no man should take any goods out of the Customhouse at Surratt before [it] was first cleared thence, and then not without money; the which notwithstanding he broke first himself.

2. That men be not so basely searched as they be at the Customhouse, and if they bring but five or six dollars for their expense are forced to payment for the same.

[1] This document is out of place in the MS. series (as is shown by its number), owing to the first date being misread as 1617. The error has been repeated in the *Calendar of State Papers* (*E. Indies*). It is obvious that this and the following document were among the papers 'of the Governor's public and private abuses' sent up to Roe by the Surat factors in March 1616 (*Fact. Rec.: Surat*, vol. 84., pt. 1, f. 14), the receipt of which he notes under date of April 5 (*Embassy*, p. 157).

[2] Zúlfikár Khán.

[3] See vol. iii., p. 313.

3. The Governor and Customer do [ ] goods into the Customhouse, lay aside the choice[st] and principal wares so brought and send them home to their houses without making price with the merchant, and after long (if ever payment be made) it shall be very under rates and less than they cost; or in the best fashion, the opinion of the Sabindour[1] (who is his friend) shall be taken. If he appraise them at far under rates it must not be denied, or else he shall be forced to take what he doth offer them.

4. That the goods of the English may be freely landed, and, after despatch in the Alfandiga, liberty to dispose, sell and carry the same to any other place without interruption of the Governor or any other officer, and not to be detained (as is usual) to the great prejudice of the sale of the commodity.

5. That they may not procrastinate and delay the clearing of goods out of the Customhouse, as hitherunto they have done, the English having had goods there near three or four months and could not get them out. And being once clear and the customs agreed for, to have liberty to carry and dispose of the same at the will and pleasure of the merchants without any further licence to be first obtained from the Governor or Customer; the contrary whereof hath been done to the English merchants in Surratt, who have not been suffered to be masters of their own goods.

6. That they over [rate not the goods in order?] to exhaust greater customs than [ ] they are worth or to make any [ ] by the goodness of some particular [cloth] as they are worth in the gross.

7. That the Governor hath, after the landing of goods, given impediment to the bringing of them into the Customhouse or leave to carry them aboard; as in our elephants' teeth, which lay near five or six weeks in the sun and cleft and spoiled them much, to the indemnifying of the commodity near 200*l*.

8. That the Governor make proclamation that any man may buy or sell with the English without incurring penalty or indignation from the Governor.

9. That we may ship any goods that comes from Amadevaz,

[1] Sháhbandar.

Baroach, etc., without bringing them to Surratt, and that we may pay but one custom, whereas we have been forced to pay three; and that the officers do not open them, but may take certificates under the broker's hand where they are bought.

10. That the country people be suffered to carry [aboard any?] provision of victuals without interruption of any governor.

11. That we may pay no custom at Baroch nor Surratt if we pay it at Amedevaz; or not paying it there, but one only and no more.

12. That no custom outwards be paid at Surrat when the goods pass not through the town.

13. That the manifold exactions of convoys[1] be redressed throughout the countries, that we be not forced to pay the charge of any against our wills, as is commonly now in use.

14. The intolerable wrong of this Governor in paying what he list for goods he takes, and taking per force from men anything they wear, whereunto he hath a mind, even their wearing swords, as he hath divers, and never seeking to pay at all, or at most not one quarter to the value.

15. This Governor, after we had warrant from himself to carry our goods up the country, the next day he recalls it back again, and then will not be spoken with in twenty days together. In this manner we have been [ ] of four or five months without doing any businesses; and if he hath not everything to his pleasure for nothing he will not suffer anything necessary to be sent aboard, nor any English to pass out of town, but shuts up the port.

[16.] And that in the beginning of January he kept a watch at our house, forbad all the bezar to sell us victuals or else, upon nothing but for that we turned not out all our commodities and gave him six or eight great chests and trunks.

17. About 10th January he would not suffer our goods to pass out of town before we gave him 2,000 mah[mudis], and we were forced to do it or else our cloth had been spoiled.

Having obtained his leave, then the Customer would not until we promised him 500 mah[mudis].

[1] Guards.

The water bailiff, after our goods or else is cleared out of the Custom house, he many times stops it two or three days till special leave be had from the Governor, and by this means pills and polls men continually.

The Governor in doing all these things unto us pretends two firmaons from the King and Prince to turn us out, divulging abroad and still insisting that [ ] his sufferance.

The Governor's repugnancy to all our businesses, notwithstanding the Prince's firmaon to the contrary.

His reproachful speeches of our King, comparing his princely state and dignity (which is in all Europe renowned) to one of their noblemen of this kingdom, and his large territories to a little isle.

His ironical and mocking speeches of the Lord Ambassador's progression with the King's present, by saying he carried a cart and a pipe,[1] in most contemptuous manner.

Endorsed by Roe : Note from Suratt of abuses and proposition for remedy.

353

A NOTE of goods[2] the Governor took away from divers persons out of the Alfandige.

	[Mamûdis].
From Mr. Hyde.[3]	
One double hatched hilt with two blades, rated at	200 00
One crooked sword blade, at	100 00
One damasked piece, at	050 00
Two dozen of scissors, at 2 ma. per piece .	048 00
A celestial globe, at 50 ma.	050 00
For a ship	200 00

[1] Alluding to the coach and the virginals. Cp. vol. iii., p. 270.

These are, of course, all articles brought out by the individuals named for private trade.

[3] Richard Hide, 'a skilful druggist,' had been sent out in Downton's fleet. Later on he is found at Achin (see p. 128).

From Tho. Bonner.[1]	
Two fair gilded leather looking-glasses .	050 00
Six pair of gilded tablebooks . . .	018 00
From Mr. Jackson.	
One picture of Prince Charles . . .	020 00
45 pieces of coral	020 00
From Mr. Patteson.[2]	
One picture of one of the nymphs . .	010 00
From Mr. Leske.[3]	
Three looking-glasses with double furniture	090 00
Two looking-glasses	030 00
23 knives of 5 ma. per knife . . .	115 00
From Mr. Arthington.[4]	
One pair of rich hangers, embroidered with gold and silver upon velvet . . .	080 00
Twelve paper pictures, at	015 00
Six rich gilded knives	042 00
Two fair looking-glasses set with stones, with great large stone pillars, at 200 ma.	400 00
One ditto set with mother of pearl . .	50 00
From Mr. Wallis.[5]	
One rich knife, cost in England 33s. . .	060 00
Six pair of knives, cost in England 20s. apiece	120 00
Two pair of rich gloves, cost in England 5*l*.	100 00
Two dozen of spectacles, cost 30s. . .	036 00
Fifteen burning-glasses, cost in England .	030 00
One fair straight sword	040 00

1 Thomas Bonner had been promoted, on the way out, to the post of master of the *Expedition* (vol. iii., p. 119). He died at Tiku on July 20, 1616, and was buried on a small island near that port.

2 Henry Pattison, engaged as a factor on October 21, 1614. Keeling left him at Tiku, where he died in 1617.

3 The Rev. William Lescke, sent out with Keeling's fleet as chaplain for Surat. In consequence of charges brought against him by the factors, he was sent home in January 1617.

4 Thomas Arthington, purser of the *Dragon* (vol. ii., pp. 184, 194) and previously of the *Expedition* in Newport's voyage.

5 Anthony Wallis went out with Captain Best, who, on his return, procured him a post in the Company's service. Roe sent him home in disgrace in 1618, but he appears to have been re-employed, this time in the Moluccas. In August 1622,

	[Mamúdis].
From Mr. Woodrofe.[1]	
One gilt leather looking-glass, cost 15s. .	030 00
From Mr. Aldworth.[2]	
One quilt stitched with silk, at . . .	060 00
A basin mother of pearl hooped with silver	150 00
Two ditto hooped with brass, at 7½ ma. .	015 00
Goods of Mr. Sadler's,[3] to the value of . .	1,000 00
From John Tooker.[4]	
42 knives, worth	126 00
3 looking-glasses, at	027 00
2 burning-glasses, at	006 00
More, taken from him in money . .	015 00
From Mr. Howard.[5]	
One sword taken away by Comaldee Hussin	100 00
	3503 00

354

A brief of Zulphekcarcon his abuses to the persons of the English in Suratt.[6]

1. UPON any spleen he would command that no man should pass the water in 4 (?) days, to the great hindrance of our business.

2. He forbade all relief of victuals to be sold to the ships, and whipped d[ivers] poor men for selling a hen.

Fursland despatched him to England as a prisoner, on a charge of wasting 800 rials of the Company's stock, and, the last time he is heard of (July 1623), he is petitioning for his release from jail.

[1] Henry Woodroffe was engaged as a factor on September 23, 1614. His name occurs among those employed at Surat in 1617.

[2] See Introduction to vol. iii., p. xxxviii.

[3] Richard Sadler was another of the newly-appointed factors who came out in Downton's fleet. He seems to have died before this date, as no one could supply particulars of these 1,000 *mamúdis*, and it was afterwards found that the amount was wrongly charged (*Embassy*, pp. 194, 195). Probably he was a relative of Francis Sadler, the Company's secretary.

[4] See p. 25, note 3.

[5] Nicholas Howard, mentioned later.

[6] In the handwriting of Roe's secretary. It appears to appertain to the 'general complaint' against Zúlfikár Khán which Roe sent to Ásaf Khán on April 7, 1616 (*Embassy*, p. 157).

3. He forbade any bread or meat to be sold to the English in Suratt, whereby they were like to starve.

4. When he was drunk (which was often) he would not be spoken to within three days; and all that time no man could go to Swally [ ] business.

5. He gave leave for landing elephants' [teeth, but] when it came to the riverside he would not let it pass the water, but it lay in the sun six weeks; the heat whereof did cleave it so that it took harm 1,000 mamothes.[1] Then the English desired to have leave to carry it back to the ships. He answered they should if they would carry it on their backs, but would not suffer them to hire a cart.

6. He kept our goods four months in the Customhouse, and would not [per]mit any to go forth without great bribes.

7. He often railed on the King of England,[2] for which he deserves to lose his head.

8. He robbed every man that landed of all that he had, and never restored nor paid a pice; and if their servants spoke for their goods they were beaten.

9. He often said it was the King's pleasure, and the Prince's, that the English should be turned out of Suratt, and that he had received many commands from them to that purpose; wherein I persuade myself he lied against the honour of the King and his master the Prince; but yet he published our banishment and caused the General and all the English captains to firm a writing that they should never return after this year, for that so the King had commanded, whereof I have the copy.[3]

10. He used the Lord Ambassador very basely, and robbed him of seven basins and ewers that were presents for the King, sending them to the Prince, [and] of divers other toys.[4] And at his departure towards the Court, n[otwith]standing the Ambassador himself showed the King's gracious fir[man] for his assistance, he neither sent him horse nor foot for his [guard], but caused himself and his goods to be stopped at the gate, n[otwith]-standing the Ambassador had presented him to the value of

[1] A more moderate estimate than that on p. 79.
[2] See p. 81.
[3] See vol. iii., p. 271.
[4] *Embassy*, p. 84, etc.

2 [ ] And when the Prince sent his favourable fi [rma] en for their [ ] he answered he was Governor and if the [ ] another too [he] would do as he list.

Abuses of the Judge of the Alfandica.

1. The Judge of the Alfandica, for licence for two parcels of [cloth ? to] go out of Suratt, took in bribes 795 ma. ready money, besides [ ].

2. Our factory at Bramport having sent for lead to serve the l [eskar ?] he will not suffer it to pass, but would enforce it for a Mala [bar that] lyes at Suratt, to carry it as is thought to the Decanns, the [Mogul's ?] enemy, and the English cannot be suffered to sell it to another.

Endorsed: A brief of the abuses done to the English at Suratt by the Governor and the Judge of the Custom House.

355

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Miako.

Ossakey in Japon, the 8th of April, 1616.

MOST loving friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you. Your two letters[1] with a hundred tayes in money and two keremons of Mr. Nelson's I have received.

Whereas you write that you bestowed but two or three boxes of the ear upon your jurobasso, it had been good that you had given him a little more for his knavery. I have given him a cooling

[1] For these two letters, one addressed to Eaton himself and the other to Cocks, both dated April 7, 1616, see *Factory Records; China*, vol. xv., Nos. 37 and 38.

card[1] and he hath promised me to be very obedient unto you and will do you the best service he can.

Concerning other matters which you write of, I will accomplish, God willing. As yet I have not done anything with the pilot; neither do I think I shall, for he and I have been at Sackea, where I showed him those goods that were there, I mean the Serases, but he has no great liking to any of them, in regard they are for the most part sad colours, which are here most in request and as he says are not good for Nova Spania. Only I think he will take as many as the money comes to which you owe him, which I will see performed either in money or goods. He hath bespoke in Sakea of leather trunks as many as will cost above 200 tayes; which I think is the occasion that he will not buy any more of our Serasses. But howsoever I make account they will not lie long upon your hands. Our host here in Ossakey hath sold five pieces of those I left with him; and our host in Sackea hath sold the twelve pieces of cassydinils, and if you send some more to him with a chest of baftas I think they will sell. The which if you send before my going from hence (which will be yet these three days before I can despatch) I will do my endeavour to make sale of them the best I may. If I do anything with the pilot I will advise you thereof hereafter. I have offered the coarse serasses for 5 mas the piece to take them one with another; but he will give me but four mas the piece, at which rate I will not sell them. If I receive anything of either of our hosts I will give them a receipt of my hand for what I receive.

Oman's[2] mother is here with her son; which you have no reason to put them upon my hands, not allowing them their diets, neither here nor in the bark as they shall go down; so as I pray you to take some order for their diets and write me what you will do therein. I will put you to as little charges of these matters as may be.

I have sent you by Dick part of my conserves, being half that

[1] Apparently this is what is meant, though the MS. has 'scoling carde.' According to Nares (*Glossary*), the term is borrowed from primero or some other card game, and means a card so decisive as to cool the courage of the adversary. He quotes *I Henry VI.*, v., *4*; 'There all is marr'd; there lies a cooling card.'

[2] See p. 40.

I have, for, as Dick can tell you, half the jar was and is half emptied before I received it.

I am at present going for Sackea to recover in such moneys that are there due unto me; so, being in great haste, I end, committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty. Resting

Your loving friend to command,
Wm. Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this be dd. in Miaco.

Endorsed: 1616. Mr. Eaton his letter for the receipt of 100 tays, dated the 8th April.

356

A Court of Merchants held in Siam, this 10th of April, anno 1616.

WHEREAS it was thought good and agreed upon by Mr. John Gourney in his remembrance given to Mr. Benjamin Farie in Patani dated the 25th of February [1] to send a good cargazon of red yarn, red bettiles,[2] and other goods fitting for Camboya in the charge of one of the factors: we also, since our coming here, having received certain information per three junks which came from thence and arrived here in Siam this year, of the good sales for those sort of goods, whereof there are now great store in this factory of Syam, as also of the great quantity of benjamin which the country people brought down, with the great benefit in price which it giveth here, besides lumra,[3] gumlack, collomback,[4] lignum alloes, with other drugs and goods yet unknown to us:

[1] Not extant.

[2] See vol. iii., p. 322.

[3] The instructions for this voyage will be found in Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 17; and in them this commodity is described as 'Lumra, a black gum; being of the best, it will rope like birdlime.'

[4] Calambac, a superior kind of aloes wood.

do also hold it fitting and do conclude to send a good cargazon of the aforesaid goods in Nochoda Poykeye's junk now bound for that place, and that George Savidge should take the principal charge thereof, assisted with John Facye; who are to take their passage in the said junk. And for that the said John Facye having but small wages, a third part thereof not being sufficient to maintain him, being entertained by the Right Worshipful Company as a sailor, but since per Mr. John Gourney in regard of his good endeavours and honest carriage was put in place of an assistant: it is agreed upon that he shall have thirty rialls of eight per anno to maintain him; referring the augmenting of his wages to the Right Worshipful Company in England, who ever have been mindful of those which deserve well.

Item, That whereas Captain Addimes arrived in the Sea Adventure, who hath brought with him from Japon to Siam this year a sufficient stock for the relading the said junk with sapong[1] wood and deer skins: we having here over and above a matter of three thousand ryalls in sundry coins, not finding means here in Siam for the investing of it in China silks or any other good merchandises, as also being credibly informed that this year there will no junks come from China to Puttana, which gives small hopes of employments (in case it should be shipped for that factory), besides the great loss by exchange of the Siam silver between the aforesaid two factories: whereupon it is concluded that 700 ryalls of eight, with 221½ ryalls of Japan plate fine being melted, with other provisions, all amounting to 929 ryalls of eight, should be shipped aboard the Hollanders' junk now riding in Siam river, being bound for Puttania, and delivered into the charge of William [ ],[2] master for this present voyage, to be delivered at his arrival in Puttania to Capt. Larkine, or in his absence to the Principal of the English then resident.

Also it is agreed to deliver unto Shobecke,[3] a Japonder, captain of a junk now bound for Farnando[4] in Japon, being a man of good estate and well reputed, four cattees Siam silver, for which he is

[1] Sappan.

[2] The vessel in question was probably the *Jacatra*, of which William Johnson was master (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 154).

[3] Cocks calls him 'Shobick' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 155).

[4] Firando is of course meant.

to pay to the chief of the English factory in Japonn within twenty days after his arrival, the danger of the seas excepted, three hundred twenty eight tayes Japonn silver, as per his contract appeareth.

Item, It is further agreed to lade aboard Nochoda Ligwan's [1] junk, now bound in company with the Sea Adventure for Japon, 1375 peccoll of sapon wood, which cost the first penny 25 cattees Siam silver; and the Nochoda to have for freight and and all other duties which may grow upon lading the said wood here in Siam, thirty eight peccoll upon the hundred peccoll at his arrival in Jappon. And for that the said junk is now bound for the port of Langosacke in Japon, it is agreed that for the better performance of the aforesaid contract Edmund Sayers should take his passage in the said junk and to remain in her after her arrival in Langosacke till order comes from the principal merchant of the English in Fernando.

Item, That whereas the King of Siam having given express order to all his people and strangers of other nations trading into his country now resident in Siam that everyone dwelling upon the waterside should be at the proper charge for digging the river a fathom deep so far as their ground goeth, with making a quay before their said ground, and being a work generally begun by all people dwelling upon the waterside, it is agreed and concluded that provisions both of timber, bamboes, etc., should be bought by the English for the accomplishing of the said order, both in digging the river deeper with making of a quay, so far as the ground stretcheth upon the water's side, and also a new pager [2] to be made round about the ground, the old being rotten, not fitting for any defence.

Per me Benjamin Farie.
Per me Jno. Johnson.
Per me George Savidge.
Per me Richard Pitt.
Edmond Sayers.

Endorsed: The 15th April, 1616. A Court of Merchants held in Siam for adventuring to Camboya, and also freighting of a

[1] Farie calls him 'Gipwhane' in the letter printed in the Appendix. In Cocks's *Diary* he is termed 'Giquan.'

[2] Fence; see vol. iii., p. 321.

junk for Japonn with money lent per exchange, to be paid in Japonn; also for shipping of moneys to Puttania in the Hollanders' junk.

357

John Millward to the East India Company.

Laus Deo. Tecó, the 21st of April, 1616.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful Sirs, My last per the Thomas [1] gave you notice of such occurrences as happened in our voyage on the coast of Sumatra, and of such reasons as did induce us to solicit our business with the King of Achen, what our success was with that barbarous tyrant, how we had purchased a factory at Teco for two years with expense of much money and two months time, our nation being grown into great contempt with the King by reason of dissension among the merchants of the Hector, who (it should seem) made each other better known unto the country people than they knew themselves. Notwithstanding these and many other impediments we settled a factory at Achen, and upon what terms and conditions I formerly writ. Sithence which time I have remained at Teco, and employed such goods as were in my charge (and presently vendible) for the procuring of pepper, and have laden on the Hector 687 baharrs, 19 catties Teco, containing net 52,284 C [wt.] 2 pounds, as appeareth per bill of lading enclosed, together with an abstract of my account; having not time to make out particulars (the reason whereof I hope your Worships will understand by others), but by this it will appear how your goods are disposed of, the specialties and proofs whereof I have remaining in my hands, and will be ready when time fits and you command to render a reason of anything I have done.

Such goods as are remaining on my account I have still in my hands at Teco, where I remain to settle the factory purchased at Achen, hoping that it will prove so profitable to your honourable

[1] Vol. iii., p. 223.

Company that if my actions must be judged by the event yet my credit shall receive no blemish by what is done. I find this place to yield the Hector's lading of pepper every year, but not to be procured at an instant, for the people are so tedious in delays, so unconstant in promises and so insatiable in bribes, that unless our nation be very well acquainted with their barbarous policies here will be very little good to be done, as may partly appear by former voyages.

Goods chiefly requested in these parts are black baftas of 50 momodus per corge, candiques of 20 momodus and blue selus of 20 momodus. All sorts of goods else, as red trickanys, narma nills, and white baftas, for the most part are to pleasure the great men, who will themselves be furnished with such and such quantity of goods as they think fit before they suffer any of the common people to have trade, and do always expect to have their goods better and better cheap than the rest of the people. Here will sell yearly 100 baharrs of iron, for 9 or 10 ends per baharr, and some beads for the weight in pepper; but the people must not know the quantity of any sort of goods; specially those which are the chiefest of the cargason must be concealed from them. Our black baftas we sold at 12 per baharr, candiques at 30, blue selus at 36, red trickanyes at 10, narma nills at 6, and white baftas at 10, provided they were merchantable and well conditioned; but being wet and rotten, as the Thomas's goods were, we were forced to sell accordingly; and yet I presume might have put off our cloth better by twenty in the hundred, but the Hector being a great ship and but small time to lade her, could not give ourselves a day's respite but were forced to pursue them in their own demands, and yield to anything, though never so unreasonable.

We found Teco to be the only place materially for our trade, all other having recourse thither. A thousand baharrs of this pepper now bought came from Passaman, in the time of the Hector's being here; and indeed all the country (in a manner) is furnished from that place, but so unhealthy that it is intolerable to our nation. The only commodity for Passaman is blue selus of 18 or 20 momodus per corge. This place is fourteen leagues to the northward of Teco. We sent some goods to Priaman, to

the southward of Teco seven leagues, but got there only 167 baharrs, the place yielding no more, as appeared by goods returned. Thither the Cortatinga men resorted (seven leagues to the south of Priaman), a place which yieldeth only gold; but we took no quantity, for the King, willing to enrich Achen, hath proposed so much gains by bringing gold thither that little or none is to be had here but what the great men engross into their hands.

We found the Guzzaratts here (as at Achen) our most dangerous and malicious enemies. At one time they attempted our lives by poison, but were discovered by one of their own nation; and at last they sought to have rooted us from Teco by this policy: when they perceived the Hector almost laden and our goods almost gone (until which time they sold us not any pepper, but wrought our restraint of trade by bribing the great men) the chief merchant of their family insinuated himself unto Mr. John Sandcroft that he promised him in private all our best goods to the value of 200 baharrs and at lower prices than had been sold at any time before (strange when the ship wanted not a hundred baharrs of her lading); which promise obtained, the Guzzarat weighs his pepper, never demanding any goods for it, and having delivered as much or more than Mr. Sandcroft said he had bargained for, he was desired to cease and receive content for his pepper, there being more bought already than the ship would carry by 200 baharrs (the pepper now bought costing more by 50 in the hundred than it would do when the ship was gone), yet still the Guzzuratt pressed to weigh more pepper; which being absolutely denied him, he affirmed that Mr. Sandcroft had in private bought 400 baharrs of him, and to confirm the same brought him to justice and demanded his bargain[1]; so that both he and I wanting goods to perform it, I was enforced to promise payment for 200 baharrs of pepper at Achen at 16 rs. per baharr, notwithstanding we had advised the merchants there to invest their money into goods fit for England.[2] Yet did not he absolutely accept of this, but still insisted on goods, thinking

[1] MS. barbayne.

[2] Cp. the account given in an unsigned representation, dated 2[ ] February, 1615-16, in *Sumatra Records*, vol. i.

to have drawn all out of my hands and so enforced me to leave the place; but if he did accept of money at Achen, the bill being not there paid but returned to Teco, he demanded to have double his money, thinking to have made us all slaves. But God (who is most powerful when men are most weak) prevented him; for within two days after his house, together with many other of his associates, were burnt down to the ground and all their pepper, to the quantity of 250 baharrs, which they meant vilely to have imposed on us, consumed in the fire, and as much more goods as amounted to the value of their pepper; so that the greatest part of their estate remained in our hands for pepper received and not paid for. The premisses I hope your Worships will think fit to supply this place both with goods and money that so it may be maintained in such reputation as the hopefulness thereof doth require.

And whereas you shall find in my account a great charge for packing cloth and wrapp [ers], you shall understand they were all valued in my invoice at Bantan,[1] and the goods being for the most part defective they could not be sound. I opposed at Bantan against the valuing of them, but was answered it was the custom.

I have received divers letters from the factory at Achen, wherein Mr. Nichols gives notice of many things very considerable but too long to recite, in regard to the shortness of time present and confusedness of business past, and therefore refer your Worships to the copy of one of his letters hereinclosed,[2] containing the substance of all the rest; only in one letter he gives me notice of a great diamond to be bought there, not worth in England so little (by his description) as thirty thousand pounds; for in the time of my being there I perceived there were some to be had, yet in regard of my daily attendance on the King could not attend such uncertain business, but left a sample with Mr. Nichols, who hath returned the same unto me for a sample of the great one, saying that it is eight times so great. It is to be bought (as he writes) under 100 r [ial] s, but desires my advice, which I cannot presently send unto him, and therefore must

[1] This is really the proper spelling (see Crawfurd's *Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, p. 38). 'Bantam' is a variant due to the Portuguese.

[2] Probably that given at p. 233 of vol. iii.

hope upon the coming of the next ship. But I dare undertake, if your Worships please to send a man thither well experienced in stones with means to give the King content (without which he cannot live there), you may receive 20,000*l.* yearly profit from thence in that one commodity, besides the benefit of maintaining the trade in this place. For within these fourteen days here is arrived three junks from Achen. In the first came the Vice-King of Teco, who had private commission to use the English well in this place for two years, but not longer, of which we have already found the effect. In the other two junks came two great merchants, who report to the people that our nation is in such reputation with the King that it will be death for any to give them distaste.

It is not unknown unto your Worships how the Trades Increase got her bane on this coast[1]; and if the state of the Hector be no better than her own men have reported, I may rather pray for her health than hope it. But when men are chosen to manage a voyage which are known to be contentious and commission given them to be so with their own nation, what hope is there but one man may be overborne by a multitude? But I speak to this end, that great ships are not fit for this country or coast, the hazard being so great; first, for the ships there is danger at sea by rocks and shoals (where [of] both the Hector and the Thomas have had a true taste), in their port by worms and mortality of men; in trade ashore, the very sight of a great ship causeth much delay before we can have praticke, and advanceth the price of pepper at least 3 r [ial] s in a baharr. So that if you would be pleased to provide pinnaces or junks to trade on this coast, one and another you might have five or six hundred tons of this pepper yearly at Bantan to lade a great ship, at a low price, in small time and with little danger.

Here is much hope to draw hither a good trade for benjamin and at a reasonable rate, 18 lbs. at least for 3 r [ial] s; but it would be necessary to give credit unto two or three Guzzaratts for some cloth to make a voyage to Burrouse, from whence this commodity comes, to the end the people of that place may know we are willing to deal for it; and then we should have it in great

[1] By running on a rock (*Purchas*, vol. i., p. 311; *Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 211).

abundance, a means to vend a great quantity of coarse Surratt cloth, good for no place else. In this I have desired advice from Bantan.

Thus having not further to enlarge at this time (material), I humbly take my leave and pray for your prosperities.

Your servant to command,

John Millward.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Committees of the Merchant Adventurers Trading to the East Indies dd. in London. Per the Hector, whom God preserve. Amen.

358

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Osaka or elsewhere.

Firando in Japon, the 25th of April, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, Per your letter of the 6th of April,[1] sent per Mr. Eaton, I perceive you have delivered the partido[2] of merchandise for $133\frac{1}{2}$ taies to Semydono, but that he took dislike at the coarseness of the commodities. We can make them no better than they are, and may be thought good enough for so bad a paymaster as hitherto we have found him. It seemeth you think there was not one piece equal in goodness to them were delivered to the King of Firando, but I am of another mind, esteeming as much difference as in a piece of cloth that made two garments, and had but the tailor's shears which went betwixt them. I speak of the goods in general as they came from Bantam, and he taking them as they came could not be so much deceived.

I hope his fair tongue can draw no money from you.[3] I wish I had that which is lent him already, and then would I not lend him any more money in haste, for both words and oaths from him are no assurance of payment, as per proof.

[1] See *Factory Records: China*, vol. xv., No. 37. The date should be '7th' not '6th.'

[2] Ital. *partito*, a bargain.

[3] Cp. p. 77.

And for the rests of the goods to be delivered to the King, the sooner you can deliver them the better it will be. Be earnest with Eacamon Dono to receive them. You may tell him you are bound for some other place and know not when you shall return and therefore desire to deliver them before you go; for if they take not the broadcloth it will never be sold for that price.

And as touching the want you find in the broadcloth, we have looked over the wastebook and found it is sold to the China Captain, both cinnamon and popinjay.

By your said letter it appeareth you have sold goods for some eighty taies. I account all well sold at what price soever. We must not now stand to look for profit, the commodity being refuse or remainder. Mr. Eaton sold the pilot some of the commodities you left at Osakay, as he advised you, it being for the sum of sixty-five taies two mas, which money I have received of Mr. Eaton for your account, with one hundred taies more in bars sealed up and sent from you.

It seemeth the Spaniards informed you how they had bought good store of Surazzes (I say Tapis Surasses) and pintados, but I think it is but a tale; yet Sr. Yossen[1] may furnish them with other silks and China commodities which we have not, for he hath store. Also you write that Albartus[2] hath sold some quantity of broadcloth, some twenty cloths within the space of eight days. Out of doubt he hath sold at base rates, for I am informed the ship which came from Aquapulca hath brought good store and sell dog cheap. Well, we must stay till God send us some, and then God grant the markets may prove better for sales. And so I commit you to God, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

Kept till the 1st of May, 1616.

Mr. Wickham, Your letter dated the 13th ultimo in Miaco[3] came to my hands in Firando two days past, wherein you write

[1] John Joosen or Yoosen van Lodenstein, a Dutchman resident at Firando. He had been one of the crew of the vessel in which Adams was shipwrecked.

[2] Another Dutchman often mentioned in Cocks's *Diary*.

[3] See *Factory Records : China*, vol. xv, No. 39. After mentioning the delivery of cloth to 'Jaquemon Dono and another of the King's Bungues,' Wickham goes on to say:

you have delivered 25 tatta[mies] broadcloth to Eaquemon Dono, the King of Firando's bongew, at 13 tais per tatt[amy], is 325 tais. I am glad they have received it. But it seemeth they would not take the other remnant, because it was not two tatta[mies], neither would they take other commodities in place of that and the rest of the black sold. Well, if they will not there is no remedy. When they come to Firando I will abate them as much as that cloth came unto, which you write is 78 taies.

And touching the mistaking in the account sent you from Osaccay per Mr. Eaton, wherein he advised you he would deliver 158 tais, 4 mas, 8 condrins, and that it should be 164 ta[is], 4 ma[s], 8 condrins; but I have received of him for your account, as I said before, 165 ta[is], 2 ma[s], 0 condrins, which is seven mas and two condrins more than you say it was.

It seemeth by both your letters that you were not half current at the writing thereof. God send us all our healths and then shall we be the better able to do that which is expected we should do. My counsel is that you give not yourself too much to physic, except upon great extremity.

Herewithal cometh a small jar of our best perry; I mean of that which was first made, and then drank very pleasantly, but now is so hard that it requireth four parts water.

'I am at present not half current, being at present troubled with a burning ague. To-morrow I expect one to come and let me blood, whom I have much sought after for the same purpose. If he prove not his craft's master, I am determined to play the surgeon myself, for I have a very good lancet that Mr. Frederick gave me. This fever doth so vex me that I cannot get no rest night nor day, want of sleep much offending me. I would I had a little of your perry there at Ferando, I mean of the first brewing, which I suppose is not yet sour. I have a little cider here, but it is so sharp as vinegar and cuts my throat in drinking. News here is none; but as touching the Emperor every day or two here is lies invented, either of wars or of peace, of Fider Sama his being alive and shortly expected with the second part of Don Andrea's ghost; all being but buzzing of the commonalty without knowledge, ground or certainty. In Osacay hath been executed lately about 200 persons for making merchandise of the people thereof since the war's oppression. One other soldier of good account having stolen a cabuque [dancing-girl] from Meako and being found out in the oppression, would have cut the woman's throat (with her consent), giving her two wounds, but not mortal; and making account the woman had her passport, he cut his belly with his wackadash [sword]. Lastly, Micaonacamo, the nobleman that gave me my cattan, hath carried away a cabuque from Meaco and hath paid her master 10,000 Tayes in oban. I would I had the money, and it makes no matter who hath the woman.' See also Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 131.

I perceive you have every day news of one thing or other, as we have the like here; yet although it prove lies the most part, as ordinarily it doth, yet I pray you from time to time write me the common reports, be it true or false.

Also you write me of the executing of some 200 persons at Saccay for making merchandise of the poor people. I wish all suchlike merchants the like luck. And if others will be so foolish to cut their bellies for love (or rather lust) after whores, the worst end of the staff will be their own. And it is much that any man should give 10,000 taies for a woman of that trade, as it seemeth by your letter a nobleman did, yet am I of your opinion that I had rather have the money than the ware.

Your letters to Mr. Osterwick and Mr. Eaton I have delivered to their own hands. And so I commit you to God. Resting

Your loving friend,
Ric. Cocks.

Kept till the 11th of May.

Mr. Wickham, For want of conveyance I have kept this letter till now, at which time your other letter, dated the 28th ultimo,[1] came to my hands per the Hollands bark; whereby I perceive how Semidono returned you 24 pieces footas chaders at 9 mas piece, and 21 buxshaws at 8½ mas piece. If you had been of my opinion Semidono should have sought out another factor; for when you have done for him what you can you will have but little thanks for your labour, or else I am deceived. And for my having accounts for it with him at Firando, I desire it not, for I know if you [ ] he will not refuse to receive it; and for the wares I will not meddle with them, the factory there being charged with them already. You did well in my opinion to put off his visitation, and the rather you not being well and he cannot take it in ill part. Yet if he had come I esteem your lodging would have been good enough to have received him; and although it were far worse it will serve my turn if I come up, and therefore I would not wish you to trouble yourself for me.

[1] See *Fact. Rec.: China*, vol. xv., no. 41.

And touching Co John your jurebasso,[1] whom you esteem idle-headed, truly I did never esteem him to have any extraordinary wit, yet with kind usage and good speeches you may have him to do all what you will; for, according to the old proverb, "fair words make fools fain," and in my judgment better to have a simple fellow that will tell each man what you bid him than a more wiser that will stand upon terms; as heretofore others have done, as you yourself have told me. I verily think he would not have made you to have taken a journey from Miaco to Sackay, had not the party which owed the money given it out he was ready to pay it; neither would the party have been so ready to pay you 200 taies (as you write he did) had not that been true which I formerly alleged. Once if I were there I esteem I could do the business very well with Co John.

The 50 pieces baftas which you write you sold at 10 mas per piece are well sold. Sell at all prices as you can and turn all into money, both quicksilver and what else; for it is better to lose at first than at last, and I know not what occasion of troubles may happen by these uncertain reports of the Emperor's death. Once if you have all by you in money, it will be light to carry upon all occasions. And be sure to change all into good plate. That which Mr. Eaton brought down last proveth reasonable good. It seemeth by your letter the Hollands bark brought much goods to Signor Albartus. We must stay till God send it. I am sorry to understand still from you that you are not well. God send health. I wonder I can get no conveyance to write to you in so long a time. And so I commit you to God.

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English Merchant, dd. in Ossaccay, Miaco, or elsewhere.

[1] See p. 77.

359

Sir Thomas Roe to the Rev. William Lescke.[1]

MR. LESCKE, I should have been glad to have heard some news from the church, for of the world I have daily too much. Unum necesse est. Though it was not my good hap to see you at my coming away, yet I left my well wishes and shall be glad to hear of you and from you. Much I cannot do, but both your place (to which I ever owed reverence), your sincere carriage (to which I must testify) command me to offer anything in my power, which you shall freely use when you will make trial. I know too well how slightly the ministry is regarded; but he that considers that saying of our Saviour: he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me, will know God takes the injuries offered to His delegates as done to Him. I write not that I doubt any such measure toward you (your own gravity will withstand it); but that I may let you know my desire to carry straw to God's building, and that I had rather wait on the temple than in the courts of Princes.

If you expect news from me I must freely say I never imagined a Prince so famed could live so meanly. All his wealth is no wonder. The Norose,[2] at which time all is exposed, is a poor May game. Religions infinite; laws none. In this confusion what can be expected?

I have little else to say, but that which is most material for me, that you will remember me in your prayers. God hath dealt mercifully with me and (as I may say) hath visited and yet redeemed me; for I have had a long time of sickness and am every day relapsing, yet His mercy hath often raised me. His name be praised ever. So with the assurance of my good heart toward you, I commit you to the tuition of Him who neither bruiseth the broken reed nor quencheth the smoking flax.

Your assured friend,

Adsmere, April 27, 1616. Tho. Roe.

Addressed: To my worthy friend Mr. Lescke, Minister of God's Word at Suratt.

[1] In Roe's own hand. This letter has been reproduced in facsimile at p. 168 of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*. For Mr. Lescke, see p. 82.

[2] See p. 19.

360

Sir Thomas Roe to Prince Khurram, 1st May, 1616.[1]

MOST royal Prince, I cannot but confess and acknowledge the great justice you have done our nation in the debts and extortions of Zulpheckcarcon, whereof I will speedily advise my lord the most mighty King of England, that his Majesty may render your Highness condign thanks, and that your fame and renown may be known in all parts. But I cannot but grieve when I consider that your Highness' good opinion and grace towards us is averted by some misfortune or misinformation, which by many circumstances is manifested to me, principally in that favour your Highness hath declared to the Portugall, our enemies. But if your Highness were pleased to regard the difference between our proceedings and theirs, that we only desire open trade for all nations, to the enriching of your Highness' kingdoms and the advancing of your customs, whereas they have ever sought to keep in subjection your subjects, suffering none to traffic but themselves and exacting duties for licence to pass upon your seas, contrary to all honour and justice, calling their king in Europe King of India; in proof whereof our readiness to embrace peace and their obstinacy in it is sufficient witness, though their force is no way terrible to us, that are so powerful in shipping that all Europe is not able to equal his Majesty therein. And if your Highness suppose that the Portugal hath or would bring either more rarities or more profit to your port, I dare affirm your Highness hath received wrong information. First, for curious and rare toys we have better means to furnish your Highness than any other, our kingdom abounding with all arts, and our shipping trading into all the world, whereby there is nothing under the sun which we are not able to bring, if we knew your Highness' pleasure what you did most affect; whereof whensoever you shall please to give a writing you shall have experience of our readiness to do you service. Secondly, for profit, our kingdom is

[1] Printed at p. 209 of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, from Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 96. As there pointed out, it is evident from Roe's journal that this letter, though written on May 1, was not sent to the Prince until July 13.

naturally the most fruitful in Europe, and the most abundant in all sorts of arms, cloth, and whatsoever is necessary for man's use; besides which your Highness, I suppose, knows not we yearly bring into your port in ready money 50,000 royalls of eight,[1] for which we only carry away calicoes and indigos, to the enriching of your Highness' kingdoms with silver.

And that your Highness may better perceive what profit doth arise by our trade at Suratt, and that hereafter we may not be vexed by officers at the Alfandica, whereby we shall be enforced to trouble your Highness with daily complaints, we are desirous to rent our customs of your Highness, both in and out, and will yearly pay your Highness at one payment 12,000 rupies for our said customs, so that your Highness will be pleased to discharge us of all other duties and troubles; which I suppose is a far greater sum than ever your officers made you any account.[2] And in all matters wherein your Highness shall command, you shall find our nation most ready to obey you and myself in particular will not omit all occasion to do you service, wherein I doubt not I could some ways give your Highness content, if I had opportunity to speak with you.

Your Highness' noble nature will excuse my boldness and that I wait not on you myself, for that for want of language I could not so well express my desires as by writing. The great Creator of heaven and earth bless you and multiply on your head all felicity and honour.

To do you service,

Tho. Roe,

the English Ambassador.

Endorsed: A copy of a letter to the Prince Sultan Carronne, dated the first of May, 1616.

[1] This appears to be exaggerated. The total amount of coin brought out by Keeling's fleet was but 43,572 rials, and this was for Bantam as well as Surat. According to the factors, only about 20,000 rials were landed at the latter port (see *The Embassy*, p. 210).

[2] This proposal came to nothing, as the Prince's officers, fearing to be overreached, asked a prohibitive sum. See *The Embassy*, pp. 222, 470, etc.

ship I received the copies of the general and particular letters it pleased your Worship [s] to send to the chief factor at Bantam and the rest, the contents whereof I will (so near as I can) see performed; being right glad that all are now united into one, a thing much desired of us all.

I make no doubt of the safe arrival in England of Captain John Saris our general, who left order that all of us should receive half of our wages yearly from our arrival in Japon, which was the midst of June, 1613, [in] money of the country and not to rate the riall of eight at [5*s*.], which will not go current for 4*s*., and that a respect [should] be had to Wm. Eaton and Edmond Sayer, the [wages of the one] being 18*l*. and the other 12*l*. sterling per annum, which is not [sufficient] to find them clothing and other necessaries.[1] [Upon the] arrival of the Osiander with your Worships' letter, we perceive your express order that no man shall [draw] above one third part of his wages and the rials [of eight shall] be rated at 5*s*. Whereupon we have [set] down per a general council to take notice thereof from the arrival of the ship and to stand to what shall be provided herein by your Worships at Captain Saris' arrival in England. And so the 31st or last day of August we shut up the books for the account of the Eighth Voyage, all since going upon account of the Joint Stock.

Hereinclosed goeth the letter I sent in the Sea Adventure the last year for Siam,[2] but she being by extremity of weather and by means of her leakiness put into the islands of the Liqueas, lost her monson and returned to Firando, and this year is set out again, Mr. Wm. Adames going captain and master in her, and Ed. Sayer for merchant. But we took 500*l*. sterling in five bags rials of eight out of her cargazon to send for Bantam in the Osiander, sending only as much as was [deemed] needful to lade her if she should lose her monson and be [put] upon the coast of Camboia. She departed from here [the 7th] day of December last, having had a fair wind; God [send her a] prosperous voyage.

I know not whether it be come to your [Worships' knowledge the] conclusion of these great wars in Japon, [wherein Fidaia] Samme, the son of Ticus Samme, lost [his life, with the]

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 6, 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

of, for since the time that the deed was done I have scarce eaten a bit of meat for very grief, which hath brought me so low that at present I am not well.

The occasion of this mischance was in this manner. I being busy about getting down of such timber as I had bought, and finding our barkmen struggling and striving all together, thinking they had been playing one with another, I having called them divers times to come away to fetch down timber but they not coming, I went unto them having a stick in my hand, struck them with it, and so withal struck against my knowledge one of the bark's company of Fingo, and as I think with my stick broke a little part of his head, which fet[1] blood; who presently ran into the bark to fetch a cattan to have done me some mischief with it; which he had done had it not been for the bongew of this place, who as I think under God saved my life. And he whom I have wounded come against me with a club, which I have yet with me here to show. I know not whether I struck at him first or no, for as then I was amazed, fearing to be killed; but howsoever he struck at me with the said club two several times, which I defended off with my dagger and [a] short cattan which I had in my hand of Tome's, but with the [force] of the blows both he and myself fell into the water, I up [ ] and the other by me; and another of the said barkmen, or he that I hurt first, seeing of me down in the water was coming to have done me some mischief; which Tome, my jurebasso, seeing, struck him upon the head with a staff he had in his hand. So as in the meantime I was got up again upon my legs, and having the said short cattan still in my hand I struck at him, whom so I wounded, which was down with me in the water, he being newly got up likewise of his feet, going his way, as I thought, to fetch some other weapon, I having got the aforesaid club into my hands; so as then the bongew and others came and parted us. And this is all the whole matter to my remembrance, as I shall answer before Almighty God. Only that they would have bound my boy John for taking of a piece of straw cord, which I knew nothing of till afterwards the hurly-burly betwixt us was done; which was the cause, as it should seem, that our mariners and the other that I

[1] Fetched.

did hurt first being so all together of a cluster as they were; and so came this mischance, which doth and hath not a little grieved me.

The other day I received a bottle of wine and some rice which you sent me, as also a barrel of wine now and some eggs, for the which and for all other your love and kindness I give you most humble and hearty thanks. I would not wish you to go away from hence before you see what will become of this business. Only if you think good to send away one of the barkmen with a letter to our Captain to certify him what hath passed you may do well. I have written him to the same effect as I have unto you; only I have desired him to send the bongew with all speed for this place, where the bongew of Umbra stayeth for his coming to make an end of this trouble.

I have delivered to the bongew of this place for timber forty tayes and four mas, as I take it, and he is to deliver us this timber following; only we are to pay him more 43 mas in bars, viz.

	Tay	mas
250 cakes,[1] which cost 13 tayes per 100 cakes is .	032	5
100 round timbers, 3 for a mas, is	003	3
250 Nukis,[2] 5 for a mas, is	005	0
004 mumbasas[3] for doors at	004	3

And thus for the present, being not well, I end; committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty, resting

Your poor dis [tressed ?] friend to command,

Will. Eaton.

Post scriptum.—Since the writing of the former part of my letter I have at present received all such things as your letter makes mention of. I am sorry I cannot see you. There is no remedy but patience. My host of Langasaque thanks you for his tobacco you sent him, and would not wish you to go for Firando, as I do the like, before the bongew's coming, which I make account will not be long before he be here. If you chance to go I pray you remember my duty to our Captain. Hereinclosed I

[1] '*Cakis*, or square posts' (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 130).
[2] '*Nuquis*, or rails' (*ibid*).
[3] '*Mombashta*, or door posts' (*ibid.*, p. 136).

have sent him a letter, which I pray you either deliver or send unto him. I would desire you if you go to leave or send me some money, for that I do not know what occasion I shall have to use some. There is a hundred tallow candles which I received of George Droyet, which are for the house; they are aboard my bark. I have taken out three of them; so I pray you take me out another ten, and the rest send to the Captain. And thus for present, being in haste, I end; resting

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

I thank you for your kind remembrance.

Endorsed: 1616. Mr. Wm. Eaton, in prison at Ycanoura,[1] to Mr. Nealson.

363[2]

John Browne[3] to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Pattanya, this 30th of May, 1616.

MOST respective friend, With my love and best wishes I salute you, with desire of your good health and the continuance thereof to God's good will and pleasure.

My last unto you was the 18th May[4] by way of Legore,[5] wherein I did advise you of the death of Captain Larkin, who departed this life the 12th of May about twelve or one o'clock in the night of a fever which held him eight days, in which time he would neither be let blood nor once take anything for the recovery of his health, thinking to wear it away. So upon the sudden, finding himself very sick, he was let blood the morning

[1] Akunora, near Nagasaki.

[2] In strict sequence here should come Jourdain's letter to Wickham of May 29, 1616, which was printed at p. 112 of the last volume.

[3] Browne went out as purser's mate on board the *Solomon* and was left at Patani as assistant to Larkin in October, 1615 (vol. iii., p. 181). He must be discriminated from the factor of the same name who was serving at Ahmadábád.

[4] Not extant.

[5] Ligor, on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula.

before he died, but then it was too late; for his blood being grown so thick, he could not bleed. He did not think his days to be so short nor any else with him, yet I spoke three or four times to him to dispose of his estate by will now in time of his perfect memory; but he would not hear of it. In all his sickness he never spake of any friend one word, nor yet of the disposing of his things to the value of a penny. So of a sudden he was taken speechless. So the last word he spake was: "Pray for me, for I am a dead man"; and so departed this life.

Yours [of] the 10th April[1] I have received per Mr. William,[2] the Dutch skipper, with a small chest of [or ?] box of money, five jars of Japan biscuit; and for the physic you write you have sent from Captain Larkin's doctor, I have not received any. I asked Mr. William and [he] told me you delivered him not any.

According to your direction I have sent per Orincay Beege Roger's[3] junk the six peeculles of lead to be delivered to the principal for the English nation in Camboja.

Per your order and inventory received in your packet [of] letters for Sultan Coolye's adventure delivered to Checcory the Moor, and to take his account withal to receive the debt or send him to Syame, upon which receipt I went and gave order that he might not have any passage for Camboja and withal went to Nassababeracanne's the Moor's house, where all his cloth lay in his godowne, and made stay of the same. So with much ado I received his account, the which I send you, and a copy of the receipt for the cloth and money that I have received of him, the which is in painted Dabull cloth coarse, and coarse chintz, and ophyan,[4] and other cloth to the value of six cattes less three tiggalls[5]: the which is more than his own estate would pay or make good; hoping when he shall arrive in Syame to have some returned. He saith it is the Turk's doing all this, who is unjust in his dealings.

For this cloth and money received I will, if I can, make sale of the same. If not, by the next to send the same to Siame.

[1] Not extant.

[2] See p. 88, note 2.

[3] *Orincay* is *orang kaya* (vol. iii., p. 313). *Roger* is *rájá* (cp. the English soldiers 'Sir Roger Dowler' for Siráj-uddaula).

[4] Opium (Arabic *ifyún*).

[5] Tikuls.

This my letter I send by way of Legore, hoping it will the sooner come to your hands.

Demanding the money of Datto Newanan, she saith you have received money for one red bettylla 14 copannes; so there rest 5:5:0 unpaid.

Here is certain news that the Spaniards will be in Pattanya within this five days at the longest. The Queen is gone a great way up the country. And for the Ambassador from Jorre,[1] he is stayed with all his men here in Pattanya, every day expecting their coming. And what course to take I know not, but only to come to Syam, if the Mullayanes do not hinder us; but I think verily that when certain news shall be brought of the coming of the Spaniards, the Mollays will be the first that will make purchase[2] of us and our goods. So that neither the Dutch nor yet we know not what course to take first; but commit ourselves to God's protection and you to the tuition of the Almighty. And ever rest

Yours to command to my power,

John Browne.

Addressed: To his very good friend Mr. Benjamin Farrye, Principal for the English nation in the factory of Siam, be this dd. Per a friend, whom God preserve.

364

William Nealson to Richard Cocks at Firando.[3]

[Ikanoura, May 31, 1616.]

WORSHIPFUL Sir, My duty remembered. That night we departed from Ferando, the wind being so contrary we could get no further than Fookee,[4] the place of my first lodging, from whence yesterday early in the morning we set forth, and, contrary to wind and tide, at night arrived at Settoo, where we stayed all night;

[1] Johor. [2] Prize. [3] See p. 103, note 3. [4] On N. coast of Kiushiu.

and this morning early went from thence to Ykenowra,[1] where after my arrival I sent a messenger to Mr. Eaton and shortly after followed myself, where I found him, contrary to my expectation, very pleasant and not a little recomforted with your letter and my coming.

I went first to the bongew, who came down three days ago, who courteously entertaining me willed me to comfort my countryman, who [it ?] seemed was more sorrowful than he had cause, and that if in anything he could stand any of us in stead we should not fail of his endeavour; so giving me licence all the day to accompany Mr. Eaton and at night to retire to my former lodging on the other side of the water. He hath been busy (?) with Mr. Eaton and hath used him in all the courteous manner he could, for which in your name I yielded him many thanks. I wonder what should be the occasion of the long stay of the bongew, but there may be many casualties may make interruptions. In the meantime we think it fitting that I stay till his return, at which time I make no doubt Mr. Eaton shall return, for all his people is suffered to go abroad at their pleasure. I perceive that the secretary of Umbra is not contented with his bongew about the death of the boy and his somewhat hard dealing with Mr. Eaton, for which cause this new bongew is so much the more affable.

When I can return I know not, but assure yourself I will stay no longer than necessity forceth me; until when, as always, I commit you to the protection of God. Resting

Always at your disposition,

William Nealson.

The secretary of Umbra was not only discontent with his former bongew about his straight keeping of Mr. Eaton, but also that he did not deliver him to the bongew of Ferando, saying his master would not thrust himself into other men's quarrels.

Addressed: To the Worshipful Mr. Richard Cocke, Captain and Cape Merchant of the English Factory in Japon, deliver these.

Endorsed: Mr. Nealson in Ikanaura the 31st May. Received in Ferando the 2nd of June.[2]

[1] See p. 106. [2] Cocks notes the receipt in his *Diary* (vol. i., p. 138).

365

William Eaton to Richard Cocks at Firando.
[Ikanoura], June 1, 1616.

WORSHIPFUL, My humble duty unto you remembered. May it please you to understand that yesterday I wrote you [per the] bark I sent from hence with timber, which carried in her [ ] marakis[1], 97 nukis and 5 cakes; whereof there is fifty more that I bought since them I bought of the bongew. They co[st] four for a mas, 1 t. 2 m. 5c. And now at present here is arrived the bark from Langasaque with 420 small boards which cost 6 [ ] all of them, and for freight of them 6 mas. I have received from Langasaque that there is to be had there 200 inch [boards?] of 2 tattames long apiece, which he hath made price for 73 mas per 100 boards. If so be you like of them at this price you may write me word, for they will keep them to hear your answer.

And thus for present, being in haste, the bark staying for my letter, the wind being fair [for] her, I end, praying to the Almighty God for your good health and prosperity, the which in His mercy long to continue, if it be His good will and pleasure.

Your loving friend to command,
Wm. Eaton.

Post scriptum.—The bongew is not as yet returned from Fir[ando], which maketh us to wonder of his so long staying. I fear he cannot make an end of this troublesome matter unless he put to death another of the barkmen, which I will not give my consent unto, for we will first die all together for company. Mr. Nealson is gone to fetch a walk, which is the cause he cannot now write unto you, [he being] not here.

Addressed: To the Worshipful his very approved good friend, Captain Cock, Agent in Japon for the Right Honourable Company of English Merchants, this be dd. in Firando.

Also a Japanese inscription.

[1] 'Round posts, or *marakis*' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 136). For *nukis* and *cakes*, see p. 105.

366

Richard Cocks to Wm. Eaton or Wm. Nealson in Ikanoura.
Firando in Japan, the 2nd of June, 1616.

LOVING friends, Your several letters I have received, viz., by the bark of Ikanaura three; two of them[1] from Mr. Eaton, dated the 29th and 31st ultimo, and the other from Mr. Nealson of the 31st ditto.[2] And the timber fell out according to contents. Also presently after arrived the other bark from Langasaque with the 420 small boards, but yet are not unladen, per means of a low water. The marrkis[3] and small boards came in good time, for our carpenters were out of work, so that I bought 23 marrkis yesternight, and had bought more this morning had not these arrived when they did. So now we have marrakis and small boards enough.

The bark of Ikanoura brought 40 small boards with them, which they said were the Dico's[4] and price set at 5 per mas great plate; so I took them and paid him 8 mas for them same payment. The fellow which brought them did also demand 6 tais of me for the 50 marrakis which you bought; but I told him you wrote me no such matter to pay him, so I referred him to take payment of you.

And for the 100 boards of 4 fathoms long, I think we were best to take them, being good and not crusts or shells amongst them. I paid 3 mas, 6 condrins for them which we bought for the Osiander; so if he will send them at 3½ mas I will pay him here, if you want money to do it. And agree with him for freight as good cheap as you can. And for the 200 inch boards of 2 tatta. long, they are something dear; yet I think we were best to take them, for they will serve for other occasions hereafter if we have not present use for them, which if they were now here I have.

We also want 100 or 150 bags of white lime and are forced to let our plasterer go work with Captain Speck for want thereof. The China Captain tells me he will write to his brother to buy a hundred for me. Yet if you can send to Langasaque per a friend, let him buy 100 at adventure and they may come with the 200

[1] Not extant. [2] See p. 108. [3] See p. 110.
[4] '*Dico* or *Bongew*' (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 213).

boards if you buy them. But for the boards I will give order per this bark of Langasaque which brought the 420 small boards, as I will do the like for the lime; therefore you need not trouble yourself.

I verily think they of Umbra and Fingo have sent to the Emperor about the matter and make us believe they stay for answer from Fingo; which if that were true, [ ] by needs have been with you before now, the wind having been [ ] and so long a time as it hath. You are deceived to think [that?] they will put another of our men to death, for I think [they would?] rather wish the other alive again if it were possible. [I am?] assured they dare not make the Emperor acquainted with the matter; but it may be they will make it known to the secretary Codyquedono. Once I hope to make some of them to repent that which they have done.

Let this letter suffice both to you and Mr. Nealson. I hope to see you both here before it be long. George Durois writes me there is no such matter touching fight betwixt our ship and her of Amacan.[1] Only some week after the Amacan ship departed from Langasaque there fell an extreme storm, which sunk a bark they towed after them, wherein were two horses with six lasceras[2] and two caffres.[3] All eight of them getting upon a cupboard or chest were five days without meat or drink; in the end whereof they were cast on the coast of Liquea,[4] four being dead, and the rest returned per way of Xaxma[5] to Langasaque. And so in haste I send, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Wm. Eaton or Mr. Wm. Nealson, English merchants, dd. in Ikanoura or elsewhere.

Also a Japanese address.

[1] The report was that the *Hosiander* and a Dutch ship or ships had attacked the Macao galleon near the Liu Kiu islands; but it proved to be, as Cocks surmised, 'ordinary Japon news, which are lies' (*Diary*, vol. i., pp. 135, 137).

[2] *Lascars*, or native sailors.

[3] *Káfirs* (unbelievers), a term applied by Muhammadans to all outside Islam. The Portuguese, adopting the word, used it to designate especially pagan tribes, such as the Hottentots of Africa or the negroes of the Eastern islands. In this case the two *káfirs* were probably natives employed as horse-boys.

[4] The Liu Kiu Islands. For this incident see Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 137.

[5] Satsuma.

367

Richard Cocks to Wm. Eaton or Wm. Nealson in Ikanoura.

Firando in Japon, the 4th of June, 1616.

LOVING friends, Of the 2nd[1] and 3rd current I have written you of [all ?] needful per this bearer, the master of the bark which brought the timber from Ikanoura, who stayeth till now per means first of contrary winds and after of rain. Our carpenters stand still for want of inch (or ison) boards and are most part put away for want of work; as also we have done the like with our plasterer of Langasaque for want of lime, he being gone to work at Dutch house. And as yet the China Captain hath not sent to his brother to buy 100 sacks lime, by reason of foul weather. So I think it best at sight of my letter to get Mr. Eaton's host of Langasaque to send to buy the 200 inch boards of 2 tatta. long with 100 sacks of lime. But have a care the boards be ison thick, or Japon inch, and not shells or crusts, and then you cannot do amiss. If you want money I know your host will pass his word till the boards and lime come, and then will I pay them which bring it, according as you shall make price, upon sight of your letter. The like course I think you are best to take for the 100 boards of four tatta. at Ikanoura, although they cost 3½ mas per piece as you write; but if they be dearer buy them not.

And, as I wrote you yesterday, I am verily of the opinion that they of Umbra and Firando have sent to Shrongo about this matter and make us to believe they stay for answer from Fingo, which is apparent cannot be so; my reasons I have alleged in my other letter. But be it so, they can do us no great hurt, for it is impossible the Emperor will condemn us without hearing. But I rather think they sent only to the Tonos of Firando, Umbra and Fingo and expect their answer, and therefore I think it needless Mr. Nealson stay there any longer; because their determination is uncertain and the charges great. Yet if upon good occasion you find it fit to stay the bark for some small time yet,

[1] See the preceding letter.

at least return our juribasso, Goresano, for I have need of him, as I advised in my former. And so commit you to God.

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

We want no timber but boards.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Wm. Eaton or Mr. Wm. Nealson, English merchant, dd. at Ikanauro or elsewhere, per master of bark which brought the timber. *Also in Japanese.*

Endorsed: [To Mr. Eaton] and Mr. Nealson at Icanoura.

368

John Browne to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Pattanya, the 20th of June, 1616.

MR. FARRYE, My last unto you was the 30th May,[1] sent by way of Legor, the which I hope is come to your hands long ere this. I wrote unto you of the death of Captain Larkin, who departed this life the 12th of May, being sick and not well since eight days. He died sooner than they thought for, which made him, I think, to make no will nor yet dispose of anything to any friend he had to the value of a penny. Yours of the 10th April[2] I have received per Mr. William the Dutch skipper,[3] with a small chest of money (the which as yet is not opened), with five jars of Japon biscuit; and for the physic you write you have sent to Captain Larkin [I have not] received any. I spake to Mr. William and he [told me] you delivered him not any. [Accordin]g to your order in your letter I [have sent] 6 peculls lead to Camboja by Orrincoy Begee Roger's junk, there [to be d]elivered to the principal for the English.

Per your order and inventory received for Sultan Cooly his adventure sent to Camboja in the charge of Checcory the Moor, to receive his account and take what could be gotten with reason, or else to send him to Syam: upon which order I

[1] See p. 106. [2] Not extant. [3] See p. 88.

went and gave order that he should not pass in the junks for Camboja, and withal made stay of all his things lying in Nassababeccan's godowne. So with much brawling he gave me the account, the which I sent you in my last letter, with a copy of the discharge I gave him for the receipt of cloth received to the value of 426 tiggales, being rated dear, and 51 tiggales in coin. All which rest till I hear farther from you or your order to dispose of. In the meantime if I can make sale of any of the cloth I will.

The 13th of this month the great Dutch ship about 800 tons and the small ship set sail for Japon. I have not any news to write more than I certified you in my last letter, the which was that the Advice with the junk Pilgrim arrived in Bantom road the 26th April and about that time the Osiander arrived in Bantom from Japon; more, there being [*blank*] great ships in Bantom road newly come from England; and this last year was six ships at Suratt, whereof two are gone laden for England; and how there is five English ships at Bandae in the Malakes, the islands (?) being delivered up to the English, for the which the Dutch do bear an inward grudge to all English, [as] I have heard by some of the great ship's company, having in her [ ] men.

I know there came letters from Bantom, but they would not deliver them. I do every day look for a ship [ ] tell [ ] Queen of Pattany is very [sick and?] like to die [ ] the p[oore]r sort stand in great fear [of the gr]eat men, who are very bare at this time both of money and honesty both. For the bill of debt of Datto Newan of 5 tayll, 8 mase, she saith she paid you for one red bettylla, 3 ma. 2 copans, so there rest but 5 tayll 5 mas, the which as yet is not paid.

So, with my best love and wishes for your health and continuance, I commit you to the gracious preservation of the Almighty, and ever rest

Yours to command,

John Browne.

Addressed: To his assured good friend Mr. Benjamin Farye, Captain and Principal for the English Nation in the Factory of Siam, be this dd.

369[1]

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham [at Miako or elsewhere].
Firando in Japon, the 22nd of June, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, Divers letters have I wrote you heretofore but kept till now for want of conveyance; and now at this instant the Thomas is arrived and come per way of Molucos, whereon Mr. John Baylie is come chief merchant and Mr. Ric. Rowe for master. She is not yet come in, but at an anchor five leagues without; from whence Mr. Baylie writes me in brief that her lading is cloth, baize, lead, tin, steel and some Guzarat cloth and divers other petty commodities; of the which I thought good to advise you, this bark being ready to depart, wherein Femega[2] and the rest go.

They departed from Bantam in January last and are come by way of Molucas, the Clove and another ship going thither in company with them, Captain Castelton being General, and Mr. Foster master in the Clove, and John Hinsley[3] master in the other ship called the Defence. The Hollanders used them as they did us[4] and kept them from trade in all they might. Don John de Silva went not thither the year past, but now they expect him with all the forces he can make, but care not for him, in respect they have ten or twelve ships already well provided and daily expect another great fleet.

General Sares is safely arrived in England and much esteemed of. And the English at Surat fought with the Portingales with as much glory as before, having slain many of them and not above two or three English died in doing thereof. They burned three of their galleons. Captain Downton is dead at Bantam with divers others, too long now to write of.

[1] Among the O.C. duplicates is one bearing this number, but really a separate letter, written on June 24 (cp. *Diary*, vol. i., p. 146). As, however, it merely repeats with a few variations the news here given, it has not been printed.

[2] See p. 119.

[3] John Hinchley, who, 'having been four or five times in the Indies,' was engaged by the Company in February, 1615. He was back in England in 1618, and went out again as master of the *Star*. He seems to have been in command of her when she was captured by the Dutch in 1619.

[4] In Saris's voyage (see p. 67, note 5).

The King of this place arrived five or six days past, and the general report is the Emperor is dead and openly buried in sight of all the Tonos before they returned. I am now going aboard the Thomas. At my return I will write you more at large; and so I commit you to [God].

Your loving friend,
Ric. Cocks.

Kept till 23rd ditto.

Your letter of the 10th current[1] in Osakay came to my hands at my return from the Thomas. She is entered the road of Firando. Captain Keeling is gone General in another good fleet for Surat and is to remain Chief Commander in the Indies for space of five years and is ordained to come in a good ship for Japon. As also there is a pinnace of some 80 tons coming per way of Pattana or Syam with a good cargazon of goods; so I think we shall have all three here this year.

The Worshipful Company expect great matter from the factory in Japon, and money to furnish Bantam and other factories in the Indies without sending any more out of England. They have wrote us two general letters, the one per the Clove and the other per the Defence, both to one effect verbatim. They have expressly ordained that we shall content ourselves with such allowance as Captain Saris ordained before he departed from hence and refer ourselves to them for the rest. So that which we did ordain when Captain Coppindalle was here[2] is to no effect. If you be not come away before this come to your hands, then stay at Miaco, for I will send you up goods with all speed I may, and send Mr. Eaton to go for Edo, if you understand all be quiet, with such a cargazon of cloth and commodities as shall be thought fitting. Get what money into your hands you can, for in the Worshipful Company's letters they urge nothing but money, money. And so in haste I end, resting

Your loving friend,
Ric. Cocks.

[1] See *Factory Records: China*, vol. xv., No. 44. [2] See the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 108.

I have sent 50 tais to the woman our hostess at Bingana Tomo[1] to buy nails, with samples thereof and papers tied to each sample as followeth:

400 lb. or 4 picos spikes.
2,000 12*s*.[2] nails.
2,000 20*d*. nails.
2,000 6*d*. nails.
2,000 4*d*. nails.
20,000 sheathing nails.
6,000 6*d*. sheathing nails.

This money I sent her per Skeete, and wrote her a letter that Mr. Eaton will pass by and reckon with her for any rest or overplus may come to her, and that she shall send back all the nails per Skeet, if they be made, as he [ ]. Hereinclosed I send you three letters which come from your friends. And so in haste I end

Your loving friend,
Ric. Cocks.

370

William Eaton to Richard Wickham [at Miako or elsewhere].
Firando, the 22nd of June, 1616.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you.

Your two several letters with my woman's cattabera[3] you sent I have received, for the which your kind remembrance I give you most hearty thanks. I would have written unto you long since but for want of conveyance.

It was my hard fortune to be sent to Icanora in Umbra[4] to buy timber and boards for the house, where it was my hard chance to slay a barkman of Fingo whom (*sic*) assailed me to have

[1] Tomu, in the province of Bingo.
[2] 'Twelve for a shilling' is no doubt intended; and similarly in the case of the other items. [3] *Katabira*, or summer robe. [4] See p. 103.

killed me. The occasion was that they would have bound my boy John to have put him to death for taking of a piece of cord of a fathom long; which afterwards they put to death. For myself, being kept prisoner there some twenty days in vile and extreme manner, I make account the Captain[1] and others will inform you at large of what hath passed; so as I shall not need to write you of each circumstance. Mr. Osterwicke[2] and myself have thought good to send away your woman[3] and the rest at present, having so good opportunity of a bark to carry them up in as this, which we agreed withal for 29 mas, which Mr. Osterwicke hath paid, as also for two sacks of rice, a barrel of wine, fish and other things for their provision in the bark, which I make account he will advise you of. I have sent you by this bearer, Skeetes, two leather chests, which cost 7 mas per piece, as also a pair of English stirrups of my own, which I lend you until such time that your own be made, which are not as yet done, by the reason the smith here is so employed with work. At my being at Lengesaque I sought for to have bought you some thread knit stockings, but could not buy one pair, neither for you nor myself. As concerning the root that comes out of Core,[4] I cannot meet with any here, in regard I went not for Tusshma according to my expectation, where it is to be had.

I understand that you have been very sick since my departure from you, which I was very sorry to hear; but I hope you are recovered ere this, which I shall be glad to hear of. I would have sent you hereinclosed a note of the prices of such goods I left there with you, but Mr. Osterwicke telling me I should not need to do so, for that he had sent you one enclosed in his letter of the prices of every sort of commodities that is mentioned in the invoice. As for the remnant of popingey-colour cloth and the cinnamon-colour, which you know was wanting, by our invoice it was delivered to the Captain China, as

[1] Cocks.

[2] John Osterwick had joined the staff in the preceding February (p. 45), having arrived in the *Osiander*, apparently as purser's mate (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 108).

[3] Femega (see p. 116).

[4] Corea. The root referred to is *Nangin* or *Ningin*, a plant identical with, or allied to, the Chinese *ginseng* (radix ninsi, *Panax Schinseng*). See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 1, and Cocks's *Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 286–7.

appeared by the waste book, which is now brought to rights and all other things that was wanting.

I hope you will remember me for the chawe[1] I wished you to buy for me. And thus for present I end, praying to the Almighty God for your good health and welfare, the which in His mercy long to continue, if it be His good will and pleasure. Resting always

Your loving friend to command,
Wm. Eaton.

I pray you commend me unto Signor Albertus and his host, and tell him I received the basin and ewer which he sent me, for the which I thank him. I would also desire him to send me down the nest of trunks of make,[2] which are four in one, as also the nest of cups, which are five in one, if they be done. I have paid for them already.

371

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Miako or elsewhere.

Firando, 22nd [June], 1616.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you, with desire of your good health as my own.

You shall understand that I wrote you this morning by this same conveyance, which since here is arrived in the road of Firando the Thomas, which hath brought broad cloth, kerseys, baize, lead, tin and divers other trifling commodities, as they say. There is cape merchant of her one Mr. Bayley, that came out in the Expedition with Captain Nuber,[3] Mr. Rowe being master of her. They came from the Moluccus, where they left Mr. Foster, master of the Clove, and John Hinson,[4] master of the Defence, under the conduct of Captain Casselton, which was in the Pearl, Mr. Ball being cape merchant of the said ships; also

[1] Tea (Jap. *cha*). [2] See p. 53, note. [3] Newport. [4] See p. 116.

they left in company with the aforesaid two ships a small ship called the Concord, all at Ternate, a-trading for cloves with the Spaniards.

Don John de Silva came not to meet with the Hollanders at the Molucus this last year, knowing it rather better to sleep in a whole skin than otherwise. The Hollanders have, at least as they say, twenty sail of ships in the Molucus staying for the coming this year of the Spanish fleet from Manila.

It should seem that the Hollanders have used our ships at the Molucus (I mean the Clove and the other English ships that are there) as they did unto us,[1] dodging them from place to place in the like manner, likewise not suffering them to have any refreshment from any of the islands. There is another small ship of ours to come likewise this year to Japon, which cometh by the way of Patania and Siam, which is called the Advice, which was sent directly hither by the advice Captain Sares gave unto the Company. She hath great store of English commodities in her. Also it is thought that General Keeling will come likewise in one of his ships from Seratt to this place, who is to stay as General in the Indies five years and is to come hither to Japon and to go to visit all the rest of the factories in the Indies. Captain Downton made a great fight likewise at Seratt with the Portigese, having burnt three of the Portigese galleons; besides did kill a number of men with loss of some three or four Englishmen. Captain Downton died at Bantam; so Captain Elkington is gone home General in the New Year's Gift and Edward Dodsworth in the Merchant's Hope, whom is laden with indigoes from Zerat. Mr. Wesby is gone cape merchant in a small ship behind Sumatra. The Hector they left a-lading pepper at Teco. The New Year's Gift they left at Bantam taking in the rest of her lading of pepper, having besides in her great store of indigoes. The King[s] of Achin and Jore are gone to take Malacka with an infinite number of people and galleys.

Amongst other news it is agreed by the Worshipful Company that no factor shall have no more paid him here of his wages but what Captain Sares set down to be paid us before his going from hence. He is in good estimation with the Company in England

[1] See p. 67, note 5.

and hath married Mr. Mexse's daughter in Whitechapel.[1] It is thought he shall come out General this year of the best fleet of ships that ever came to the East Indies. I make account Captain Cock and others will write you at large of everything; unto whose letters I refer you.

And thus for present, being in great haste, having not time to read over what I have written you, I end, committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty, resting always

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

Post scriptum.—Your letters to the Captain and Mr. Osterwicke they at present have received. I perceive by your letter to Mr. Osterwicke that you visited my daughter at your being in Sackea, and that she had been sick but as then well again; as also that you had delivered unto her the two cattaberas which I desired you to buy for her; for the which your love and kindness I give you most humble and hearty thanks.

Addressed: To his approved good friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. in Miaco or elsewhere.

372

A writing subscribed by three condemned men set ashore at Soldan [ha] Bay, 27th June, 1616.[2]

WE whose names are hereunderwritten, being by an orderly proceeding of the laws of England convicted and condemned to suffer death, do hereby acknowledge the gracious clemency and royal favour of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, Scotland, France and

[1] Saris married Anne, daughter of William Meggs, of Whitechapel (Faulkner's *Fulham*, p. 72).

[2] On the transportation of criminals to the Cape, commenced in 1615, see vol. iii., p. 317; also *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 13, and the authorities there quoted. Terry, in his *Voyage*, p. 30, says that the three malefactors here referred to, 'hearing of the ill-success of their predecessors, and that it was very unlikely for them to find any safe footing here, when we were ready to depart thence and to leave them on

Ireland King, etc. That whereas by the laws aforesaid our lives were forfeited and present execution was to be performed upon the same, yet notwithstanding it hath pleased his gracious Majesty out of his most royal inclination to offer us mercy, granting us our forfeited lives, and, according to our own desires rather than that we should taste the sharp stroke of death, hath graciously vouchsafed to let us be transported hither into this foreign land, where by our own good endeavours, God blessing us, we hope to live and to do his Majesty and our country good and acceptable service, which we promise to perform to the uttermost of our powers. And so most heartily praying for the long continuance of his Majesty's most happy reign and a blessed prosperity to him and his royal successors, in testimony of our thankfulness for his Majesty's gracious clemency towards us, we have set our hands to this present writing.

In Soldania road, the 25th of June, 1616.

Mathew Clifton. + Wm. Harris his mark.
Arthur Pilliton.

Endorsed as above. Also: Consultations aboard the Charles for divers businesses and persons at Surratt, 1616.

373

The King of Achin to the King of England.

[July, 1616.]

WITH remembrance of God the Almighty. I, mighty King Jonham ber Doulat of Acheen and other parts of Sumatra, with authority over Jore, send greeting to the renowned King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, named James.

the shore, they all came and presented themselves on their knees, with tears in their eyes, to our chief commander, Capt. Joseph, most humbly beseeching him that he would give orders that they might be hanged before he departed, in that place, which they much rather chose than to be there left. . . . Our commander told them that he had no commission to execute them, but to leave them there, and so he must do; and so believed he had done, but our fifth ship, the *Swan*, staying in this place after us a day or two, took these poor men into her, and then took her course for Bantam, whither she was bound.'

Signifying to Your Majesty that the letter sent by Orankaya Chuche Atte[1] I have received and understood, rejoicing much that my letter sent by General Beste is come unto your hands. And whereas the tenor of your Highness' letter imported for trade at Tecoo or any other ports in my dominions, I have granted the same and so am ready to do any other your requests.

Also have by Orankaya Chuche Atte sent Your Majesty a letter signifying in particular: I have granted him to leave factors in Tecoo for two years, with straight charge that they, nor bodies or goods, sustain damage, but there to trade freely without interruption: during these two years to land and lade their goods of any condition at their pleasures: and that the weigher shall perform his due office without fraud: and that both nobles, gentlemen and commons shall friendly use your said subjects: and if the principal merchant shall happen to die, his next in place to take government: and if all the English should depart their lives, then I have given likewise charge to my officers to keep their goods safe for the next English ships that shall arrive there.

Also, if any English ship shall through casualty at sea be in danger of loss of all or part of their goods, and do come on land in any part of my dominion demanding help, I have straightly commanded that they shall not only afford them the same, but use them kindly.

Likewise, if there be any promises of bargains betwixt the English and any my country people or strangers, it being registered by the clerks of my Custom House, there shall be no revoking on neither side.

Moreover, if by the laws of my country some of Your Majesty's subjects shall have trespassed to the judgment of death, their goods in their jurisdiction shall not be meddled withal, but remain for the English.

For custom I am to have 7 per cento inward and outward, and for ever hereafter to expect the same and no more nor less.

[1] 'A title this king gave to Captain Keeling' (*marginal note on MS.*). In a further note the meaning is stated to be 'honourable, clear-hearted man.' The latter portion of the title appears to be from the Malay *chŭchī*, clean, and *hatī* (Achinese *atīh*), heart. In similar fashion the King bestowed on Captain Best the title of *Orang-kāya-putih*, which means *white nobleman*.

I pray likewise Your Majesty for ten mastiff dogs and ten bitches, with a great gun wherein a man may sit upright, together with 2 nallyes[1] of spangle stuff according as I have given in note.

So praying the Almighty for your life's continuance until old age, with your reign King of Great Britain, France and Ireland to prove prosperous.

Dated in Achen 1025 according to the rate of Slam.[2]

Privileges at Tecoo.

With remembrance of Almighty God. I, great King of Achen, give knowledge to all people within my dominions that Orankaya Chuche Atte having entreated my letters patents for trade at Tecoo two years, I have granted the same by these presents unto him: that he shall leave what merchants and other English he please there, taking house and to trade as merchants. And if in that two years time expiration, there be not there some people to clear all thence, then the Panlyma[3] of that place of Tecoo, with other of the greater rank, to bring them for Achen with their goods; permitting no manner of person to wrong any English, but suffer them peaceably to trade as merchants, and land or lade goods at their pleasures, provided they build no castles, or land any ordnance there, but two or three muskets for their own safeties. Also the weigher to afford due weight, more nor less. Also to you all, great and small: let no wrong be done to any English in any measure. And if perhaps one, two or all the English shall chance to die, do you not seize on any their goods to my use, but let any there to the last living use his trade at pleasure; and if none shall be living, then to keep safe the goods, giving it to the next English shall there arrive. If any English ship shall be in danger to be lost, that any the merchants or men come on land and desire help, let no man deny them good usage, but help them all that may be. Also if there be bargains made by any English, they causing the Corcoune[4] of the

[1] 'Each nally ½ bushel' (*marginal note*). A *nalih* is now the sixteenth part of a *gantang* or gallon (Crawfurd's *Malay Dictionary*).

[2] Islám. [3] Vol. iii., p. 313. [4] See p. 167.

Custom House to register the same, there shall be no revoking of bargain, but accordingly to stand to bargain. Also wheresoever any English shall be within my dominions and have by breach of my law incurred the danger of death, let not the English goods be seized on for me but remain for the other English, for that the same goods appertain to the King of England.

For custom take 7 per cento out and in, according to late custom, and so hereafter continue in taking the same custom out and in. Let no man take more. Let Adeck Roga [1] with the Ponlima of Tecoo take the customs, and Adeck Roga bring them hither.

Moreover, if after the two years' expiration, beginning at Orankaya Chuche Attee his arrival there, the English not gone thence, let Adeck Roga bring the English and their goods hither.

These are all the privileges we could procure for our nation, though desired sundry other, which much displeased him, and we were fain to give them over, etc.

Endorsed: The copy of the King of Achin's letter to the King of England; with the copy of the privileges granted to the English, 1615 [1616 ?], at Captain Keeling's being there.

374

Abstract of councils for settling the factory of Achein, left for the better remembrance of Mr. Nicholls, prime factor, and the rest.

THAT Wm. Nicolls, his sufficiency and language considered, he to be left chief factor in Achein.

That an estate out of the remainders of the Company's stock left aboard the two ships, amounting between 1,500 and 2,000 tale, should be left here, consisting of such parcels as underwritten, viz:

	tale	mass
350 blue baftas 18 mamothas per piece, valued at	393	12
050 packs cotton wool, cost 536 ma., valued at .	033	09
99 sword hilts (Decan), at several prices, at .	031	08
664 ends irons, valued at	225	10

[1] See note to p. 166.

	tale	mass
29 fine whites, cost 657 ma. 16 pice, valued at	041	01
Ready money	605	03
010 jars of butter, valued at	042	08
010 bales of sugar, valued at	035	00
010 bags catcha,[1] valued at	015	00
050 blades, valued worth	050	00
002 broad-cloths, valued at	042	08
100 bags white rice at	031	04
Goods remaining of the old Account.		
Remaining in bad and good gold	090	00
Remaining by 36 pieces whites	033	02
12 skins amounting to	001	10
02 fair looking-glasses at	002	00
02 comb-cases at	000	12
01 blue bafta at	000	18
01 Tapsell at	001	06
05 blades at	005	00

That a copy of the Honourable Company's merchandising commission to be left here to guide the factory in all their affairs.

That the Company's stock left with this factory be invested into pepper, against the arrival of the next fleet from Surrat.

That 3 tale per month (and not to exceed that) be given for the Dutch house for our English factory to dwell in.

That Mr. Nicholls, if the King hereafter give him a piece of ground, that he build a house fitting the Company's use.

That a present be given to Ponte Cowale (future good expected by him towards the English left here). That Mr. Nicholls, if the Hollanders stand in need of relief, to follow the rules of Christianity.

That Mr. Nicholls have especial care to send advice for Pry[aman] and Teco, to the factory there, at all convenient times; likewise for Surrat, etc. Which he promised faithfully to observe.

That their former resolution should stand concerning what commission should be left with this factory. Abstract of some councils for the settling of the factory to be left likewise for their better remembrance.

[1] Catechu.

That Mr. Hide[1] be left a third factor, and if it please God to call Mr. Stratford[2] then the said Mr. Hide to be second to the prime factor, Mr. Nicholls; if Mr. Stratford recover, then Mr. Hide to take passage in the King's junks or some other vessel for Pryaman, Teco etc., where the factory shall be settled, and that Simon Stratford remain second to the prime.

That Abraham Bonde[3] be removed from this place to some other or else returned for England.

That the difference in superiority between the prime factor and the second consist in these points: that if the prime factor give any presents or gifts of more worth and value than shall be thought fitting by his second, then the second publicly before the prime and attendant of the factory to protest in writing against such an act. Yet nevertheless it was ordered that the prime may dispose of such presents though the second assent not to it, provided as aforesaid that the second not privately but publicly protest against it, and that both their opinions be registered in a book kept for the same purpose, with their hands to the same, that their superiors hereafter may amend if aught amiss.

That in all other serious and weighty affairs of the Company they shall both consult together, and every of their consultations registered, with their hand to the same.

That Henry Woollman be left an attendant on the factory, and in case any of the factors die, that thenceforward he be esteemed as one of the Company's factors.

That the prime factor pay him a third of his yearly salary, or so much as shall be thought fitting.

That Mr. Hide and Mr. Stratford be paid a third of their wages yearly. Their wages set down by the Honourable Company in England: the first year twenty pounds, the second thirty, and to increase ten pounds yearly till the expiration of five years.

Dated in Achein this 8th of July, 1616.

W. Keeling. Wm. Nicolls.
Geo. Barkeley. Henry Patteson.

[1] Richard Hide, a druggist, was engaged in December, 1614 (see p. 81).

[2] Simon Stratford was entertained a little before Hide. He died before the beginning of 1618.

[3] See vol. iii,, and *supra*, p. 23.

375

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Osaka, Miako or elsewhere.

Firando in Japon, the 12th of July, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, My last letters[1] (being divers sent together) went from hence the 24th ultimo, sent per Skeet, who accompanied the women up; since which time your letter of the 24th ditto came to my hands in Firando the 6th current.

In my last I advised you of the arrival of the Thomas, and that we expected two other ships, besides the junk; but to this hour we have no news of neither of the one nor other, which maketh me not a little to marvel, considering the wind hath been good so long as it hath been, which hath made me to stay longer than otherwise I would have done, only thinking that Captain Keeling might have come in and saved me this labour[2] or else that Captain Adames might have arrived in the junk and have borne me company, it being a thing needful, matters standing as they do. But if he come not within three or four days I mind to stay no longer for him, for I have a great bark of the King's with our own foyfoney[3] ready and the cargazon of goods laid by and packed up.

But at present the Spanish pilot with Pasquall[4] and others being now ready to depart, I would not want to write you these few lines to give you to understand that we have sold these goods following unto them for ready money paid, viz:

320 pieces red *Zelas* at 7½ mas per piece.
110 chints Amad. at 9 mas per piece.
074 candequis nill at 4 mas per piece.

In part of payment whereof they have paid 11 bars of gold at 6 tais two mas per bar, with condition that if such bars of gold be more worth than 62 mas per bar when these men come to you, then you are to allow and pay them the overplus; but if they be not worth 62 mas per bar, then they must make good and pay you so much as wants in payment.

[1] See p. 116. [2] Of going up to the Court. [3] Boat (*fune*). [4] See p. 139.

I have had much ado here with the Tono of this place, he giving me warning I should sell no goods till he heard answer from the new Emperor, unto whom he wrote of the arrival of our ship and what lading she brings. I answered him I had privilege from the old Emperor to sell at all times when any ship arrived without sending up to the Emperor; but he replied that the old Emperor was dead, and therefore willed me to give him a writing under my hand if I would make use of old privileges before I had spoken to the new Emperor and renewed them, and then bade me sell if I would. But I thought it not good to give any such writing, but rather promised to stay till he heard answer from the Emperor, and therefore have secretly sold these goods to the Spaniards, telling our jurebasso I would not deliver them till I came to Ozekey or Miaco.

There is only six junks arrived at Langasaque, viz.: Two from the Maniallas with little or no lading; Two from Cagalion[1] in the Phillippinas with as little; and the other two from Camboja, laden by Portingales; but none of them have brought any silk, for that the Hollanders have stopped the passage of the China junks which should have gone for the Phillippinas. And the barks which Towan sent to conquer the Islands Fermosa,[2] missing of their purpose (their pretence being discovered before they came), lost only one bark and all them which were in her, who cut their own bellies, being compassed by the islanders and seeing no means to escape; so that the rest durst not enter but went upon the coast of China, where they have killed above 1,200 Chinas, and taken all the barks or junks they met withal, throwing the people overboard. So that it is thought no China junk will come into Japon this year. Whereupon the Chinas at Langasaque determine to give the Emperor to understand thereof, and it is thought may be an occasion that Twan will lose his life and all which he hath. The Hollanders have burned four Portingale galleons before Malacca, unto which place Don John de Silva went with his armado but came too late to succour them, the Hollanders being gone before he came; which he took so to heart that he died before Mallacca, and all his armado is returned to

[1] Possibly Cagayan, in the N. of Luzon, or else the Cagayan Sulu Islands, between Borneo and the Philippines. [2] See p. 49.

the Manillas. This is all I have to advise of for the present. And so in haste I commend you to God, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

These fellows have also bought 2 pieces candekis abalupta, at 8½ mas per piece and 9 pieces ditto at 9 mas per piece.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, dd. in Osackay, Miaco, or elsewhere. Per the Spanish pilot.

376

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Miako or elsewhere.
Firando in Japon, the 12th of July, 1616.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you.

You shall understand that my last letter I wrote you was per Skeet,[1] which I doubt not but is come to your hands ere this. Since which time we have made ready a cargazon of goods to bring up to you to Miaco. The Captain is minded to depart from hence towards Miaco within these four days at furthest.

I sold yesterday to the Spanish pilot and to the rest of his company 110 pieces of chints at 9 mas per piece, 320 zelas at 7½ mas per piece, 74 pieces candequis nill at 4 mas per piece, and 9 pieces of candequis abelupta at 9 mas per piece. I received money for all the abovesaid things; but he paid me 14 bars of Coban gold, which I took at 62 mas per bar if in case it be worth so much at their coming up to Miaco; if not, they are to pay unto you what they are sold for less than 62 mas; and if they are worth more than so much, you are to pay unto them the overplus.

I pray send Coe John to the makeman,[2] that made my things, to tell him that he deliver to the pilot all such things he agreed

[1] See pp. 118, 120.

[2] See note on p. 53.

to have made; which I pray you to see him do it, for that I am surety for him to the pilot.

I would have written you more at large but that I hope to be with you shortly myself. Captain Cock at present is very ill. And thus for present, being in haste, I end, committing you and your affairs unto the protection of the Almighty; resting always

Your loving friend to command,

Wm. Eaton.

Addressed: To his loving and good friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. in Miaco or elsewhere.

Endorsed: From Mr. Eaton, dated the 12th of July, 1616.

377

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Osaka, Miako, or elsewhere.

Firando in Japon, the 14th of July, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, My last was dated two days past[1] and sent per this bearer, the Spanish pilot, called [*blank*][2]; and at the instant of the delivering of my letter, the Advice, another small English ship, arrived,[3] wherein master one Mr. John Totten,[4] and merchant and purser one Ed. Willmot, for that the merchant is dead, who was called Mr. Robert Ewer.[5] She lost her munson the last year and returned for Bantam, having been within 250 leagues of this place, and is now come from Bantam in six weeks' space. Her lading is some 20 broad cloths, 100 picculs lead, some 300 piculs alum, 280 red Russia hides, with some 16 piculs of steel, most

1 See p. 129.

2 His name seems to have been Antonio Perez (see p. 140).

3 The *Advice* reached Cochi 12 July, and came into Firando road the following day (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 151).

4 John Totten, or Tatton, had been master of the *Pearl* in Castleton's interloping voyage, and wrote the account in Purchas's first volume (p. 328).

5 Youart (see vol. iii., p. 316).

part gad, 4 chests gallipots, 2 chests glass bottles, and 8 cases bottles, 1 case gilt leather, with some 3 piculs Lankin silk, with other trifling matters. It will be an occasion of my staying four or five days more than I thought to unlade and bring some things along with me. I forgot to note that she brings 2 bales or chests cony fur, divers sorts. You need not to tell any man of any quantity goods we have, especially of gallipots, for we have 18 chests in both ships. Neither say anything of our silk; it is but little. I hope it will yield above 400 tais [per] picul. We have some small quantity of black grogrens and black taffeties.

There is one Sir Thomas Rowe gone for Ambassador to the Great Mogull, and from thence sent a herald or trumpet to the Viceroy of Goa to demand his reason wherefore they made wars each year against the English at Surat and whether it were per order or command from the King of Spain, for which answer he would stay 40 days after the signification; but no reply being made he hath pronounced open wars against the Portingals in the East Indies with fire and sword in the name of the King's Majesty of England.[1] And Captain Keeling, as he returned from Surat, met with three Portingale ships and hath taken them all, having first settled a factory at Callicut, which is thought will prove a matter of great moment. General Keeling is at Acheen with two great Portingale prizes. This is all I can advise you of at present, and so in haste I end, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

If you could make barter for some of the best sort copper, it will be good. Captain Jourden hath written for some good quantity, as also for iron of each sort.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, dd. in Osakay, Miaco, or elsewhere. Per the Spanish pilot, our friend, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: From Capt. Cock, the 14th July.

[1] This was, of course, an exaggeration.

378

[Richard Wickham to Richard Cocks.]
July 14, 1616.[1]

[CAPT. COCKE, My last was by our host of Sacay, called Cassevett Tosemdono,[2] well known unto Mr. Eaton and others, of whom I doubt not but both you and others have received my[3] letters. Many of several dates I have received, but cannot answer them as I would, by reason of the sudden departure of the bearer hereof. It seemeth how you have been informed of many envious speches, as you term them, which I have given out against you, which, when time shall serve, I will prove them most dangerous and turbulent fellows and such as, if you suffer them to run on in such courses as they are famous for, I doubt me that ere long we may pack up our pipes, for Japon will be too hot for us. Capt. Cockes, I have ever loved and honoured you as much and more as any of those which do daily and hourly cease not to flatter you, and indeed (I will maintain to their faces) much more misuse you in presuming above all others to speak and to do as they have done. God forbid that I should desist from that condition which I always have been possessed withal since I bode under your command and authority, which hath been to respect and acknowledge you in your place, as I have from the highest to the lowest with far more greater love than ever yet hath been shown unto me by anyone. So that, except I were left here for some slave, still to be taunted and misused, both in word and action, as hitherto both by yourself and others, which a far more patient nature than mine would never have suffered both blows and intolerable reproaches I from

[1] Only the latter portion of this letter is contained on the sheet in the O.C. series which bears the above number. The appearance of this sheet suggested, however, that it might possibly be a stray leaf from Wickham's letter-book (*Factory Records: China*, No. xv.); and, upon examination, this proved to be the case. The first part of the letter (shown by the square brackets) has accordingly been supplied from the last-mentioned source. The entry in the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513–1616, p. 470, must be read in the light of this addition.

[2] He is called Tozayemon Dono by Cocks, who describes him as 'the man which hath most holpen Mr. Wickham in our affairs' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 199).

[3] The MS. reads 'my your.'

you and others have by the most merciful providence of the Almighty God patiently suffered and put up. And whereas you charge me that I should report that you hindered me from going to Bantam, it is true you would rather I should have gone than stayed; yet ye know that ye charged me with matters of account not yet perfected by Captain Ad [ams], which if you could lay upon my back would have been a burthen too heavy for me to bear, or at leastwise to have left unperfected. Do but balance as if you please my gains made in Japon, or since my coming from England, with my losses and expenses, continually posting from place to place upon the Honourable Company their business by your appointment; which if with the eye of charity you will but look into, you should find me but in a bad case to go for my country. For the wrong you say I have done you and Captain Ad [ams], do but consider whether a man may speak in the defence of his innocency, or any particular causes which may nearly concern him, or whether you make him lawless or no in so severely executing[1] accounts of me in a matter that I have with your consent already discharged, or in suffering to pass without giving such a particular account as himself[2] always promised always to give you; which he ought in duty to do as well all other who have the managing of the Honourable Company's business under you. I pray conceive not so ill of my writing or speaking without ground or cause. Every worm desires to live, and if it be trodden on it will turn again. Suffer me not thus to be wronged by the malicious reports and slander of such as in all honesty ought to more love, yet now forget one[3] to look back into the hinder part of the wallet; such is the height of oblivion now grown into in Japon. For my dependence and favour with Captain Jordan, which it seemeth you are much aggrieved at, whose generous disposition [towards ?] all honest minds serving the Honourable Company is such, not in m [y] judgment but in all that know him, that he will oppress nor wrong no man, although it lie in his power, no, not the poorest slave, that shall behave himself honestly, much less to tread or suffer to be trodden under foot any of his own fashion and quality, which do not abuse themselves nor their employers. For my

[1] Exacting? [2] Adams seems to be meant. [3] Once?

accounts or pamphlets, as it pleaseth you to term it, it was not given you in any such fashion as you say it is now so blotted; it should seem you have given the perusing of them to one that had more skill in dabbing than in a merchant or factor's account. And for any other account which you say you demanded of me, it was those business between you and me in particular, which when I shewed you where the errors were you bade me let them alone until the coming of Captain Ad[ams]; and for any other account, either of money or goods, I take God to witness that to my remembrance you never demanded any such matter of me. If you had I would never have left Ferando before I had given it up. Nevertheless with all the speed I can I will send them to Ferando, with the particulars and expenses of Captain Copindale and his company, as also of mine own to Edoe and back again for this place. And for what I wrote concerning Mattinga or her father, I protest before the Almighty God I wrote it with as friendly a heart towards you as unto my own brother, whose credit and reputation I am by nature bound to preserve as much as in me lieth; and for what you insert by way of reproachful terms touching me or Femeine,[1] I impute it unto your choler and those tongues that are always buzzing in your ears one thing or other against me or mine, as I term it; which I do not much pass for knowing that, were it true as you say, that I go not without companions. And for entreating (not commanding you, as you charge me) not to pay any so great sums for my particulars unto any man as you have done without my order, I might without offence have written as much to the best merchant in London, not being his slave or his prentice. And for anything else in that angry letter [of?] the 25th of April[2] about Coo Jon, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Grene[3] in the Red Sea, Captain Copindall and others, I doubt not but at your coming up but to clear myself of anything writ or spoken. In the meantime I pray have a more charitable opinion of me.

Now as concerning other business of more importance, I have received four or five other letters of several dates, which coming so upon a heap together that Skete's haste to depart will not

[1] See p. 119, note 3. [2] See p. 95.
[3] Probably Benjamin Green, factor on the *Darling*, in the Sixth Voyage.

permit me leisure to enlarge as I would. The goods I delivered Cacamondono, for the Tono of Ferando, was to have been returned upon my hand again, but that I was upon the sales of some cloth at Sacay and so missed thereof, as I have formerly written. And for Semidono, I am verily of your opinion that any commodity delivered him upon trust, were it salt radishes, he would not refuse it. I have sold away the rest of the baftas at several prices, because they were not alike-conditioned. I have sold away all the cassides at 11, 12, and 13 mas per piece. I have sold away a parcel of fottos]

called long and double fottos, being about 105 pieces, with 30 pieces of allijas and 7 pieces of serasas, amounting to 14 [2 ?] tayes, to be paid the next of this month, besides some other odd pieces which I have not yet ready money for. As for the quicksilver, the time is so dead that no man will bid any money for it, but as in my last[1] I wrote, I make account if the Macowe ship come not this year it will sell to a good price with profit: if there come any store this year it will be as bad a commodity as it hath been the last. Nevertheless I pray advise me what is your pleasure therein, that per the first that I may dispose of it accordingly. The buckshawes no man will offer any price for them ; the striped footas, by reason there was first brought in cargazon of 4 rials ¾ per corge and others of the same rated (as in the musters doth appear) at 12 rials, which is near upon 5 mases per piece,[2] and no man will give for neither of these 2 mas per piece; so that having 100 pieces, wanting one, rated at 12 rials, I know not how they will sell with [without ?] great loss.

I am sorry that Skidinundono was the occasion that Mr. Eaton made so unfortunate a journey to Umbra. I had rather that Skidindon had done so unfortunate an act and that Mr. Eaton had been doing somewhat else in Ferando; but what God will have done human providence can no way prevent.

Here is little news toward. They say that the Tonos repair to Edoe, for some especial business appointed per Shonga Sama and his council, within three or four months. In the meanwhile Shonga Sama hath taken all his father's soldiers of Surungava and

[1] See *Factory Records: China*, No. xv., p. 37.

[2] Reckoning the rial at 8 mas, one piece, at 12 rials per corge, would be priced at 4⅘ mas.

other places and will enforce them to serve him as they did his father, and hath called them all to Edoe, where they have greatly augmented the city, which is and will be within this twelve months twice as big as it was the last year.

Cassa Sama[1] hath almost all his land taken from him and in the room of 48 mangoques[2] hath left between 2 and 3 mangoques for him to gnaw upon, Shonga Sama being much displeased with him; so that if any wars begin it will be in the north or east parts.

Lead is now at a good price, worth 7 t[ais], 4 or 5 mas the pecul; cloves are worth 23 or 24 t[ais] the pecul; pepper worth 7 t[ais] 5 [the] the pecul; wax, if it be good, worth 18 or 19 the pecul, if coarse, 15 or 16 t[ais]. The nobleman that gave me my cattan[3] hath made great inquiry for steel and iron any time this year or two, and now that it is come I doubt not but that he will give a greater price for it than the Emperor or any other.

I am glad of the safe arrival of the Thomas. I pray God send the rest that are expected this year in safety. Also what the rasi-skins[4] will do I know not; and for the tin, it is fitter for Serat a great deal than for Japon.

And thus, not having farther at present to enlarge, I commit you and your affairs to the protection of the Almighty, who give of His abundant mercy such grace that we may agree like Christians, or for my part I would I were in heaven, to which God of His infinite mercy bring us all.

[The 16th ditto.[5]—I have given order to Skettes to procure the despatch of your nails in Tomo[6]; who saith he paid our hostess the 50 tys you delivered him in part for that business. I do by the bearer hereof I send 100 beakers or drinking cups of mackin[7] work, which Mr. Eaton bespake for you; and if those 10 formerly sent you do dislike you, I pray send them me again. Your salt cellars, if they dislike you, I will cause to be mended and made to your content. R. W.]

[1] The youngest son of the deceased Shogun.

[2] 'An income of ten thousand *koku* of rice. A *koku* = 5·13 bushels' (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 164, note). [3] See p. 97, note. [4] Russia skins (hides)?

[5] This postscript has been obtained, like the first part of the letter, from Wickham's letter-book. [6] See p. 118. [7] See p. 53, note.

you and others have by the most merciful providence of the Almighty God patiently suffered and put up. And whereas you charge me that I should report that you hindered me from going to Bantam, it is true you would rather I should have gone than stayed; yet ye know that ye charged me with matters of account not yet perfected by Captain Ad[ams], which if you could lay upon my back would have been a burthen too heavy for me to bear, or at leastwise to have left unperfected. Do but balance as if you please my gains made in Japon, or since my coming from England, with my losses and expenses, continually posting from place to place upon the Honourable Company their business by your appointment; which if with the eye of charity you will but look into, you should find me but in a bad case to go for my country. For the wrong you say I have done you and Captain Ad[ams], do but consider whether a man may speak in the defence of his innocency, or any particular causes which may nearly concern him, or whether you make him lawless or no in so severely executing[1] accounts of me in a matter that I have with your consent already discharged, or in suffering to pass without giving such a particular account as himself[2] always promised always to give you; which he ought in duty to do as well all other who have the managing of the Honourable Company's business under you. I pray conceive not so ill of my writing or speaking without ground or cause. Every worm desires to live, and if it be trodden on it will turn again. Suffer me not thus to be wronged by the malicious reports and slander of such as in all honesty ought to more love, yet now forget one[3] to look back into the hinder part of the wallet; such is the height of oblivion now grown into in Japon. For my dependence and favour with Captain Jordan, which it seemeth you are much aggrieved at, whose generous disposition [towards?] all honest minds serving the Honourable Company is such, not in m[y] judgment but in all that know him, that he will oppress nor wrong no man, although it lie in his power, no, not the poorest slave, that shall behave himself honestly, much less to tread or suffer to be trodden under foot any of his own fashion and quality, which do not abuse themselves nor their employers. For my

[1] Exacting? [2] Adams seems to be meant. [3] Once?

sent barks to receive her goods out of her, giving it out she is to go look for a great ship which is wanting and to come for this place. But others (Japons) think she hath robbed China junks, and therefore sends things ashore in hugger mugger, and will go back to look out for more purchase. Keep this to yourself.

I wrote you the merchant's name which died out of the Advice was called Mr. Robert Ewer, but his name was Yeowart. I am now in haste, being ready to come up, and mean not to stay so long as I advised in my former. And so in haste I commit you to God, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

It grieveth me I can hear no news of our junk. We want Captain Adames now.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, dd. in Osakay, Miaco or elsewhere. Per our friend, Signor Antony Peris, whom God preserve.

379 A

Copy of the Articles or Privileges granted to the English nation by Shongo Samme, Emperor of Japon, 1616.[1]

BE it known unto all men that the English nation throughout all Japon in what part thereof soever they arrive with [their] shipping shall, with all convenient speed they can, retire to the town and port of Firando, there to make sale of their merchandise, defending all other places and ports whatsoever in Japon not to receive any of their goods nor merchandise ashore but at Firando only.

But if it fortune, through contrary winds or bad weather, their shipping arrive in any other port in Japon, that they shall be friendly used, in paying for what they take or buy, without

[1] In Cocks's handwriting. A facsimile is given in Rundall's *Memorials of Japon* (Hakluyt Society, 1850); and it is also printed in Cocks's *Diary* (vol. ii., p. 289). There is another MS. copy, slightly differing, with No. 424. For the fate of the Japanese original, see Cocks's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 348.

exacting any anchorage, custom or other extraordinary matters whatsoever.

That if the Emperor needeth anything their shipping bringeth, that it shall be reserved for him, in paying the worth [the]reof.

That no man force or constrain the English to buy nor sell with them, neither the English the like with the Japons, but that both parties deal the one with the other in friendly sort.

That if any of the English nation chance to die in any part of Japon, that the goods, moneys, and merchandise or whatsoever else is found to be in his custody at the hour of his death, shall be held to be or belong to him or them unto whom the captain or cape merchant of the English nation saith it belongeth unto.

That if there be any difference or controversy, be it of life and death or otherwise, amongst the English, aboard their ships or aland, it shall be at the disposing of the captain or cape merchant to make an end thereof, without that any other justice in Japon shall touch them or meddle in the matter.

The conclusion is to command all Tonos (or Kings), governors and other officers in Japon whatsoever to see the premisses aforesaid accomplished.

380

Mahábat Khán[1] to Sir Thomas Roe.[2]

TO Sir Thomas Roe.—I was much gratified at perusing the letter which out of affection and friendliness the august and honourable Envoy was good enough to send me. I was and am extremely anxious to meet you. I trust you will not omit to send me letters, which will always be a source of pleasure.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 302. Also Salbank's remarks, *infra*, No. 408A.

[2] In Persian. The translation has been kindly made by Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E. On June 21 Roe 'despatched letters to Bramport to Mahobet Chan to desire a command to his lieutenant at Baroch to give our merchants entertainment and trade at his port, and to suffer them to hire a house for their residence, and to procure his favour for them in doing them justice and right'; complaining also of the exaction of tolls at that place during the previous year, and requesting the return of the money thus extorted (*Embassy*, p. 199). The answer arrived July 22. It enclosed a

As regards what you have written in favour of Nicholas Bangham,[1] I was delighted; and this very moment I have written an order to the authorities of Pargana Broach that a house worthy of him and his companions should be given to the above-mentioned; and that in any case, they should not fail to help and assist them, and should not allow anyone to injure them. In no way has anyone the power to demand aught from them. Nay, more, whatever tribute has been taken will be restored.

Rest assured of this and write me news and tidings of your health. What need be said more? [*a few words indecipherable. No seal or signature*]

Endorsed by Roe: Mahobet Chan's letter [from] Bramport, July 22, 1616.

381[2]

Mahábat Khán to the authorities at Broach.

LIBERAL Ismael Beag and faithful Hoja Begradge, Hope ye that you shall continue in my service.

Know ye that when any merchants of the English nation shall come to Baroach, either by sea or land, that you make ready a house to give them apart near unto you, to the end they may remain there; and that no man offer to hinder them in their passage by sea or land but [that they may ?] safely traffic and buy and sell in the said Baroach, and that they may freely buy and sell indigo and calicoes and whatsoever else, without disturbance or let of any man. Also that for custom

farmán to the Broach authorities (see No. 381), which Roe pronounced to be 'most effectual'; and the letter itself (the ambassador says) 'was more civility than all the Indies yielded me: full of courtesy and humanity and great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had demanded I should make no doubt of performance, and if I had any other occasion to use him, he desired me to write and it should be performed. The copies are worthy the seeing for the rareness of the phrase' (*ibid.*, p. 217).

In the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513–1616, this letter has been wrongly entered as the original *farmán*.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 316.

[2] This is a translation, in Roe's handwriting, of the order alluded to in the preceding letter.

and all other exactions no man shall trouble them. Further, I require you that you will have especial respect and care of this my writing, and that you expect no other from me.

The 29 of the month Teer[1] and the 11 year of the reign of the King.

Endorsed (by Roe): Copy of Mahobett Chan's firmaen for Baroa [c] h, July 22,[2] 1616.

382

Sir Thomas Roe to Lucas Antheunis at Masulipatam.[3]

Adsmere, the 23rd of July, 1616.

MR. LUCAS and my loving countrymen, I received letters[4] long since from you by the hands of Jhon Maria,[5] an Italian, which concerning your accounts and merchandises, seeing I neither understand nor have to do therein, I sent them to Suratt, requiring Mr. Kerridge to give you answer. Notwithstanding I thank you for your care to give knowledge this way of your affairs, and will be very ready to hold correspondence with you in all business for the service of the Company.

Since my arrival in these parts I have had much trouble by the unconstancy of this people, our trade being unsettled and subject to many servile abuses and extortions. But with much difficulty I hope to establish it on better conditions through all parts of these dominions. I daily expect a conclusion of new articles and privileges propounded in the name of my master to the Mogull, whereof I have newly obtained grant, wherein I have provided for all inconveniences, so far as the faith of this king can secure us.

[1] The fourth month of the Persian calendar, as adopted by Akbar for his Divine (Iláhi) Era.

[2] This, as already stated, is the date of receipt.

[3] A copy of this letter will be found in Roe's letter-book (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 113).

[4] See p. 28.

[5] See pp. 39, 40.

I was requested to procure a firmaen or command for Bengala,[1] it being supposed that some shipping would be this year directed thither; but finding them by experience to be ordinary warrants and lightly regarded, I have resolved as a firmer course to send a copy of the articles under the seal of the King (which are more effectual and contain in them large privileges and stricter commands than any firmaen) unto your factory, that they may lie ready to be delivered to any English commander that shall go for Bengala (supposing that he will first visit your residence, being in his way), which he may take along with him and make use of in all parts; and when he hath resolved to settle a factory in any certain place, if I may receive advice I will accordingly procure any further command to the particular governor that shall be requisite. So soon as I have received and countersealed them I will despatch them unto you, desiring such use may be made thereof as the Company's business shall require.

My present writing is occasioned by the wickedness of a servant of mine own, who departed my house without consent and lived a life scandalous both to mine and my nation's honour, from which when I sought to withdraw him by force and to punish him exemplarily, he fell to worse, abusing both his Majesty, myself and all his countrymen, and was maintained by the Prince, with whom I had then some differences for complaining against the extortions of his servants; but after he repented voluntarily and, confessing all his villainy to the King, he was turned out of the Prince's service, and was unfit for my house. Yet could I not tell how to send him prisoner to Suratt, for that I had promised the King otherwise; but by fair means persuaded him to go to Mesolapatan, so to deliver him into the hands of justice without further scandal, he supposing to escape away with the Flemings, and either never to return into his country, or when all might be forgotten. To this purpose I wrote a slight letter to the Dutch captain that was with me at Suratt,[2] and gave him a bill to you, as slight, for 25*l.* sterling, thereby to draw him into your hands, without meaning any further benefit to him than to send him prisoner home. His

[1] Cp. Kerridge's letter in the Appendix, and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 218, 349.

[2] See p. 33.

offences are of an high nature, his conditions shameless and impudent; therefore I require you in His Majesty's name and for the reputation of your country and service of the Honourable Company that so soon as you receive this letter you keep it secret from any man's knowledge but such as are fit to be trusted with a matter of that importance, and that, so soon as he comes to demand his money, you give him good words and take no knowledge of any advice from me, until you can have opportunity to make him prisoner, or to draw him aboard some ship under pretence of merriment, and then to show the commander this my letter, entreating him and charging him in His Majesty's name to suffer him to come no more ashore, but to carry him into England to answer such things as I have to lay to his charge. His accusations shall meet him, testified under his own hand, and witnessed by all the Christians here. I should very earnestly impress into you the care of this business and the good carriage thereof, that he escape not deserved justice, but that I make no doubt of your allegiance to your sovereign, your respect of me his ambassador, and your own honest and good discretions, to which I commend it.[1]

I have no acquaintance with any of you; only I was entreated by Mr. Robert Ven to show courtesy to one Mr. Gurny, of whom now I must receive it; but you shall all find me ready to requite any kindness showed me. There was one Mutton,[2] that came over with me, a goldsmith, servant to a pensioner of the King's that died in my company.[3] If he be arrived at Mesolapatan, as I am advised, I pray persuade him to come over to me. I will prefer him to the King and pay his charge; he shall here make his fortune and do me much pleasure. If he can bring a clean ruby for me at 20*l.* price, I will make him amends.

Thus having no farther occasion, I commit you to God's mercy.

Your loving friend,
Tho. Roe.

Addressed: To my loving friends, Mr. Lucas Andrinus, or to

[1] For this episode and the subsequent fate of the offender (Robert Jones), see *The Embassy*, pp. 179–181.

[2] See vol. iii., p. 330.

[3] Boughton.

the Principal of the English Merchants resident at Mesolapatan for the East India Company, these be dd.

Endorsed: 23rd of July, 1616. Agimere. Sir Tho. Roe to Mr. Lucas at Mesulopatan. *Also:* Rec. from Adsmere, the 7th September, anno 1616.[1]

383

John Gourney to Wm. Nicholls at Achin, 23rd and 28th July, 1616.[2]

Bantam, the 23rd of July, 1616.

MR. NICOLLS, At the departure of Captain Jourdain for Jaccatra, of which is certified in this letter that goeth herewith, he left the same with me to be [enlarged?] and directed to you by this junk the bearer. Since which here arrived from Jambee a Dutch pinnace empty and no letter from Mr. Wesbye, the Company's factor. They report that pepper was very scarce through the not coming down of the Mammycabos,[3] and is likely [to be?]; but there is also added in private that whereas the Hollanders at the former mude[4] or season had taken a Portingal frigate within the river of Jambee trading, for which the king, according to reason, becoming much displeased and showing will to have restitution made, the Dutch factor, knowing this pinnace to have been built upon the hull of the said frigate, despatched her back presently both to certify by his letters thereof, and also of the coming of Don John de Silva at the Straits of Sincapoor with his fleet, ready to take his first opportunity to come hither, but of his strength either directly they know not [ ]; for some say the Viceroy[5] with his forces is joined with him and hath made up the fleet to 50 ships and galleys of sorts; others that he is yet alone and with only 25 ships and galleys [*three lines illegible*] against the coming of the Mattaran,[6] a Java king, of whom

[1] The second endorsement seems to be in the handwriting of Antheunis.
[2] This document is in a very bad condition, and portions are indecipherable.
[3] See vol. iii., p. 331.
[4] Perhaps the Malay *musim* (season).
[5] Of Goa.
[6] See vol. iii., pp. 114, 316.

Mr. Jourdane writes you. The Dutch expect 15 of their ships from the Molooccos, the which with two they have at Jaccatra and three of ours would make up twenty; but lest those fifteen should come too late, their president here hath been, and is yet, busking along this coast a place whereon to fortify for his own and people's safety, having with him 40 Jappans and of themselves as many, and it seems meaning it shall be a rendezvous for their ships to ride under, if they prove but few at the time, till more come; but hitherto works in vain, for this king denies them place within his limits and his subjects withstand them according where they come; and so I make account that if betwixt us there shall not appear convenient strength in fit time, we shall make use of our few ships' best sails to carry us out of the enemy's reach. 'Tis likely that if the Viceroy and [Don ?] Silva join they will dare set upon twenty ships, and being great commanders will strive hard to prevail; but if they be either of English or Dutch, or both, their Spanish and Portingal stomachs [may ?] be [ ] entertained to harder meat than they [*one line illegible*] of our four ships from the Molooccos [or ?] General Keeling with the Dragon and Peppercorn from your parts, then what but God's displeasure could hinder a havoc upon them. Our advantage lies in their late coming hither, as at October, according to monsoon; but if they appear much sooner, as the Dutch record, and before the joining of our ships then is it theirs, and may easily catch up [our ?] ships as they come single or few together from home or from other parts to this road. Thus our case at present being, I can but hope that Almighty God will grant us means to beat these popish people as we were wont to do; for I wish heartily [ ] lest they pester the air with ballads of victories, [as] their use is, making mountains of molehills upon every petty advantage, and so dishonouring our nation and religion.

Now of other matters to purpose of trade. It is so that in October last the Solomon, of General Downton's fleet, having in her a cargazon of goods and money from Bantam and Patani well sorted, departed from Pattania towards the Coast of Corramandell by way of the straits of Mallacca, and no doubt but by God's help arrived in short time to Meslapatan, for we

h[ear] she passed the straits safe. In her I was appointed to go for Agent for the businesses of that Coast, and [*two lines illegible*] for the bu[siness] of the Globe's voyage [which ?] arrived from Syam a month before me and bound for England by the way of Bantam, held consultation [with ?] the rest of the factors of the ship and of the factory of Pattania, in which concluded it possible I might outstay the benefit of the monsoon. Mr. Lucas took my place by general consent and proceeded, leaving me to come by way of Bantam with a fresh cargazon. But that is here denied, through the poverty of this factory, till better means. But howsoever, as soon as may be that coast must and will be thoroughly established and you may be furnished with any sorts requisite from the[nce]. Meantime you shall do as well to forbear to nourish the traders that come from either Meslopatan or any part of that coast, as Captain Jourdain hath written [after consultation ?] had thereon; for their prosperity both outwards and homewards will breed our hindrance, it being that those Java wares which they bring to Achin are brought hither and there returned in Cheena ware and spice, benjamin, and are such as we also carry to the Coast. Now if we cannot otherwise hinder them, at least we ought to forbear to invite them to increase of trade, as by the counsel and advice of you we should.

Here goeth in this junk one Cange, which had been our hired servant from Meslopatam and being left with Adam [Denton ?] at Pattania committed sundry thefts, for which he [ ] [*one line illegible*] was ashamed to carry him home in the [ ]; but I doubting his wife and friends would make uproar [ ] brought him with me, and the rather because that with some cost the most part had been surrendered by the receiver and [ ]. Of this I write to the end that howsoever you may do well to help him forward with an alms if he show need; yet not to trust him more than you would do a thief.

Now, being at 28th ditto, it is so that while I was concluding the abovewritten, it was told me that a Dutch boat was arrived from Jambee with fresh advice, but of what we cannot directly

understand; for to such degree are the differences grown betwixt them and us through our trading at the Mollooccos (not to speak of other trifles) that it hath bred such strangeness betwixt us as if we never had been acquainted; and that which seems to be ridiculous is their concealing their knowledge of the [ ] of our common enemy in this dangerous time, notwithstanding they know that all the strength and industry both nations can [ ] may prove too little for defence, much less to conquer. At the said boat's first coming they gave out (as was told us by others) that they had wonderful good news, but would not recite the particulars, which made us deem the enemy had received some hurt that would bar their coming hither; and at last we hear that Don John de Silva is dead and the fleet departed they know not whither; but this and other things which one of them saith other of them denies, and so we rest unsatisfied. But of a loss of three of their ships catched up by the Spanish fleet about the straits in their freebooting courses, I think we may be [ ] thereof, the report having been long at [ ] it please God to send [ ] [*one line illegible*] as good reports in private we shall [ ] be [ ] without them. And if it prove so that the fleet is gone, then 'tis to be held likelier that they be gone to spoil Pattania than that Don John is dead and the rest discouraged from proceeding hither, for before their means to come hither they may have done that, and prolonged their coming hither but 10 or 15 days, and not lose many men, if they lose any, by that service. Nevertheless, while [ ] doubting the worst, we [ ] also hold it possible their purpose either may be dissolved, as well as that of the Mattaran, who [also ?] was [ ] forward [rests quietly ?] at home. For other matters refer [ ] [*one line illegible*] [ ] from Jaccatra of the [ ] accompanying the enclosed letter for Meslapotam.

Your loving friend,
John Gourney.

Addressed: To my loving friend William Nickolls, cape merchant for the English [ ] dd. in Achin.

384

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham [at Osaka or elsewhere].
Firando, the 24th day of July, anno 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you with desire of your health, etc.

Since my last unto you per the pilot there is arrived two Holland ships; the one of them is the small pattasha,[1] the other a great ship of 600 ton, which came by the way of Patania; by whom we have received intelligence by a letter sent from thence that Captain Larken is dead: Mr. Denton, Mr. Lucas Anthoney gone for the Coast in the Solomon: Mr. Gourney and Mr. Sheppard at Bantam: and Mr. Fairey principal at Siam: there being only one merchant[2] left in Patania, who came out purser's mate in this her last voyage, and there left upon the departure of Mr. Lucas and Mr. Denton.

Since which time also our junk is arrived, praised be God, but with such small hope of profit that I think she will not be sent forth again per the English, by reason of the great privileges due to the officers and mariners, whereby they have laden a fourth part of the junk with wood and skins.

As for the Hollanders, Captain Speck hath taken such a course that no man hath a piece of stuff to sell, but all in his hands. And for China junks, there is not one yet come, whereby I think little good will be done this year for any of us.

As I have written unto you per the pilot, so I give you again to understand that there is one chest and one trunk, together with a little packet delivered to Mr. Eaton that is directed unto you, sent by Captain Jourden and Mr. Coppindall per the Advice, whose coming from Bantam so late was in a good hour for you, I hope, for had she not come you might have stayed another year without a return. These things are now embarked for you with other letters, whereof the Captain[3] hath some, the cook, John Coker,[4] other some, taking upon him more than befits his kitchen office to intercept the letters of any to peck a thank, and myself send you four, with the key of your trunk enclosed herein. The coming of these shipping by this order hath much hindered the

[1] Pinnace (Sp. *patache*). For the names of the two ships see p. 139, note 6.
[2] John Browne (see p. 106). [3] Cocks.
[4] Generally styled John Cook (cp. p. 160, and the *Diary*, passim).

Captain in his voyage to those parts. Our trouble now you must imagine is not small to have two ships to trim and one junk, and expect every day to hear news from Langasaque of the arrival of two junks, wherein there is wood and skins freighted for the account of the Company, in one of which Edmund Sayres is to come. I do desire you most earnestly to send me down the account of Edoe voyage and Osakey since your last going up, severally, [if they were several businesses?]; for I should be loth to send home an account to the Company wherein they should find your charge without a discharge in some sort. I pray you consider it and do not fail in it.

Your girdle you shall receive of Mr. Eaton, to whom I have delivered it. I sent you one by the pilot, which I hope you have received. I pray you pardon me for writing so scribbling a letter unto you per your woman; the time was short, which was the occasion I could not copy it over, and therefore I hope you will pardon me.

Farnundo is come in the junk with Captain Addams from Syam, being there left by the Advice when she was first come hither. To write unto [you?] anything concerning Mr. Coppindall it is needless, because I know he doth inform you at large of himself and how he is to be disposed of. And therefore, having nothing at present further to advertise you of, I commit you and your affairs to the protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friend to his power,

John Osterwick.

385

Objections against the removal of the residence of the English from Suratt to Goga.[1]

1. FIRST, it may be said it will displease the Prince and that he will seek to revenge it.

I am sure he cannot be worse enemy than he is, and being enemy, better out of his own immediate power than in it, where he can wrong us of himself without

[1] A draft memorandum by Sir Thomas Roe (apparently for transmission to Surat) on the proposed transfer of the English headquarters to Gogo (Goghá), on the Káthiáwár side of the Gulf of Cambay, opposite the embouchure of the Narbadá. Roe was at one time inclined to favour the proposal, and this paper contains his rejoinders to

control; but cannot do so in another's government without winning the Governor, who will not yield to his own loss; nor in the general will the King, who, though he will not relieve us against his son, yet will not be drawn to oppress us for his sake, nor he adventure to move him to it. Lastly, it is better to have him our enemy, when we may thereby purchase ourselves some friend, who for his own interest may protect us, than be subject to high injuries where no man can intermeddle for us.

2. It may be said Goga is a poor town, unfrequented and in danger of the Portugulls nation, having been by them in the last breach burned and spoiled.[1]

I answer: it is so; but if we be drawn to that residence, all traffic will follow us, and the merchant will follow his profit. For the danger of the Portugall, he cannot offend us without breach with the King upon his shore, which he is not in state to do, having so many enemies; or, if he do it must be provided for by the Governor, that we either may build ourselves a place of defence or that he undertake the protection of us living under his securities. And it is to be understood that the main of our goods, which now lie at Suratt, shall not remain at Goga, but be suddenly sent up for Agra, Cambaya and Amadavaz.

3. That it is not so fit for the vent of three of our main commodities, which are coral (sold to Decan), lead, and teeth.

I answer, the odds between that port and Suratt to go or fetch goods by water, which the Decan and strangers do, is nothing, and if they shall find that their usage is better at the port of Goga than at Suratt (where they are subject to as many injuries as we) their own ease and profit will soon teach them the way. The Malabars will find the same course, who only buy some small quantity of lead. And for that commodity of those sorts that is bought by the naturals, we know that for teeth Cambaya and Amadavaz is fitter, and that most of that com-

objections advanced against it. The memorandum bears no date. In the *Calendar of State Papers* it is assigned, with a query, to July 1616. It seems probable, however, that it should be dated a year later. In October 1617, the ambassador, writing to Surat, referred to 'Mocrob Khan's offer of Gogo' (*O.C.*, No. 552); and in a letter to the Company of February 14, 1618, he said: 'We have *this year* [*i.e.*, 1617–18], for suffering the insolencies of the Prince, made trial of Goga and searched all the Bay, but can find no place fit for your head residence but Suratt; so that question is at an end, and we must study to make the best of that place.'

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 155, 229.

modity is either bought of us by merchants of Cambaya or if by those of Suratt, sold and transported after thither for the most part; and therefore the merchant will the sooner buy it at his own door than at Suratt, where he must fetch it and endure many troubles with the beggarly officers of that port. Or admit all this were vented at Suratt by merchants of the town, yet if it be commodity that they must use or make profit by they will follow it and as soon fetch it from Cambaya as they of Cambaya from Suratt. And for the Decanines and all strangers the port of Goga is indifferent and will be found more easy for them as well as for us. Lastly, it is the opinion of good merchants that many the Banians themselves that inhabit Suratt will change their dwelling and follow the commodity, to avoid their own slavery.

4. It may be said it is not so well seated for provision of cloth to be sent for England and the southward.

I answer; for the semians it is as well, and better; and they shall come to Cambaya with less charge and trouble. For most of the southerly commodity, they are provided in Cambaya itself, whither yearly we are forced to resort. For Baroach and the new cloths made there, and such other provisions as are to be fitted for the southward, if we keep a factory resident, as now we do, and those cloths and sorts provided in time, they may be sent over to Goga in a night by frigate without danger, it being impossible or improbable that the Portugall will keep frigates always watching so poor a thing; from March to October they cannot brook the seas, and it is well known at Cambaya which times their frigates are on the coast and when not, there being many months in the year when they have none, and such a time may be taken that all our goods at once may be brought over to Goga. Or if it be stayed until our ships' arrival, Goga lying right over against Baroach, one of the smallest ships may stand over within two miles of the entrance of the river and receive it in without danger.

If there be any other objections added to these by any factor in the country, I desire they may be written and set down with their reasons, and I will either answer or yield.

Tho. Roe.

Endorsed: Objections for Goga port.

386

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham at Osaka or elsewhere.

Laus Deo in Firando, the 8th of August, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I heartily commend me unto you, etc. My last unto you was per the Captain, at the instant of whose departure I received a letter from you sent per Skeete, by whom I understood of your health, for the which I rejoice.

To speak further of the amber[1] it is needless; the knavery of that Pasquall in detaining your letter, and his subtle carriage in proffering a price for it, forced me to yield to so mean a rate. But a worser matter than that is the Hollanders were prevented per Captain Speck this year, who, as it is said, had many stuffs but taken from them by their commanders, insomuch that there hath not one piece been proffered or by any means could be gotten from them. The China junks likewise have failed in coming this year, by reason of Twann[2] his fleet of barks, who hath done much spoil upon the coast of China this year; whereby I do not know which way to employ any money to profit. For cloves, there came some in our shipping, but bought by the Spanish pilot, Pasquall, and the other at 45 t[ay]es per peculle.

For the money which Mr. Nelson gave to Femeja and Oman's mother, it was, as I formerly writ, 1 tay 5 cond., viz. 6 mas 5 cond. to Femeja and 4 mas to Oman's mother, as Skeets his wife informed me. After I understood per Mr. Nelson himself, who first told me of it; whereat I was very angry with them that they would not make their need known unto me that did so often speak to them to give me to understand of what they needed, and I would furnish them. They answered that he urged them to take it and he saith they desired. To conclude, Femeja her money was spent but Oman's mother's I took from her, yet returned it again to her and paid Mr. Nelson for the whole; and therefore Femeja is mistaken, or else I should prove myself a knave. Skeets telleth me you have not paid him for your bands and cuffs but that I am to pay him here; which when I have

[1] See p. 139. [2] See pp. 49, 130.

order from you so to do I will, till which time he shall pardon me. In this your last letter you make mention of a former wherein you advised, as it seemeth, to send you divers provisions and amongst the rest a jar of citrons, which letter never came to my hands and therefore the jar is unbought; and as for hens, eggs, and such things, they are so lean and with all other things so dear, that for the one they will hardly live and the rest as cheap to be had there as here.

You shall receive per this bark, belonging to Queamondono, 240 peculls of saponwood, containing 1,810 sticks or logs, without any allowance of tare, because he carrieth up with him the same frame or scale of sticks, being four square, together with the cords to weigh the wood withal again, and also hath bound up in a bundle two peculls of the 240, and hath marked the ends of every several stick with a chop or mark that you may see the difference of weight if any be. We are to send up a small junk for Edoe laden with wood and alum, which I hope will be ready in few days.

	P.	C.
weight	240	00
Tare	8	20
Net	231	80

No news that is certain of Edmund Sayres. There are junks arrived in Shasma which have been in great distress, but whose not certainly known. The Captain China and Mr. Wilmott departed yesterday for Langasaque to place Mr. Wilmott, being a stranger, to stay the coming of the junks; whom I have desired to furnish you with a pair of blue velvet, if possible they could be got; and for one pair of black, I sent per Skeete unto you with your dagger and bands and cuffs, whereof you make no mention of receipt; your girdle per Mr. Eaton; and one girdle for a token per the Spanish pilot. Mr. Bailey commends him to you and desires to be excused for not writing by reason of his sickness.

The case is doubtful whether the Amacan ship do come or no. No more to advertise you of at present, but the Lord prosper your proceedings.

Your loving friend,

Jo. Osterwick.

Skeets his money I will call for when it is due. I have paid to the master of the bark 20 t[aye]s in plate of bars in part of

his freight; the rest, being 30 t [aye] s, you are to pay him there. And to the bongue or fellow that undertakes to look to the wood (being none of the barkmen) and is to answer what is missing, to him I have paid 3 t [aye] s; the rest, being 2 t [aye] s, I think he will not demand till his return; but if he do you may use your discretion. The bill of lading is herein enclosed.

Since the writing of this letter there came to my hands a letter from you bearing date the 26th of July, but by circumstances rather to be the 26th of June[1]; wherein (after your calling into question my friendship) you will me to send you divers particulars, the most whereof you received per your woman, as namely, buttons, your dagger, one pair of black velvet slippers, bands and cuffs and girdle; as for rice, barley and conserves you have by another letter sent by Skeete ordained the contrary; so that there remains now dried fish, hens, eggs, white biscuit and China wine. As for sugar there is none to be had. For these provisions, if the bark do but stay this day, what provision I can procure I will send up, which as now I am uncertain of. I have received likewise, which was directed to Mr. Eaton, one cattabra,[2] which I have taken for my own use and will be answerable for it: one barrel of wine, to be drunk out for his sake: two small leather trunks, English fashion: three skritories and five boxes, wherein I think is jars of the chaw[3]; all which remain here for his use, and as for the money I doubt not but you have reckoned ere this time yourself with him. I wonder why you mention but three jars of chawe in your letter and there is five jars come, all with one mark; to resolve which doubt we opened Mr. Eaton's letter and there we found but three likewise, wherefore as yet we remain as doubtful as before. You shall receive per this bark one jar of biscuit, containing 24 catt [ie] s net, two bundles of dried fish, and eggs 36. We intend to send very shortly two barks of wood and skins to you.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, at Osakay, Meaco, or elsewhere, dd. this.

A document in Japanese is appended, which is probably the bill of lading referred to in the letter.

[1] Not extant. [2] See p. 118. [3] See p. 120.

387

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham [at Osaka or elsewhere].

Laus Deo in Firando, the 16th of August, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I heartily commend me unto you, etc.

My last unto you[1] was per a bark laden with sapanwood sent unto you, wherein I gave you to understand of 240 peculls great weight that was put into her; the tare to be allowed for every draft (being 120 several) is 7 catt[ie]s, 3 t[aye]s weight, whereby the net rest will amount unto 231 peculls $37\frac{1}{2}$ catt[ie]s. The bongue that went up with them took with him the beam or scale of wood whereon the sapon was here weighed, which pezed 7 c[attie]s, 3 t[aye]s, as before. Also I certified you of the sending of one jar of biscuit containing 24 c[attie]s, 2 bundles of fish, afterwards made up into one, and 28 eggs, with other matters as occasion then offered to write of, to which I refer you. Since which time we have despatched and laden two barks for Osackay, laden as per an invoice herein enclosed, agreeing to pay 40 t[aye]s per bark for freight, without the trouble of sending another man to take the charge of the merchandise, 40 t[aye]s whereof we have paid them here, viz. 20 t[aye]s per bark, the rest you are to pay them there, God sending them well to arrive. The barks are jointly under one command; yet howsoever you shall receive from every barkmaster a letter of this tenor[2] with a bill of lading apart, what is in each bark. It may be you will wonder why I put no rate upon the wood and skins; but the reason is want of time to reduce the Syam coin into this country money, which although it be soon done it is not yet performed, but by the next conveyance you shall understand thereof; in the meantime I hope it will be no hindrance for you in pricing your goods for sale, the ordinary rate (according to the quantity of wood and skins that comes into Japon) being so well known.

I pray you be mindful to send the account of your Edoe and Meaco business last undertaken, that the books go not home

[1] See p. 154.

[2] The second letter, sent 'per Quiemondono, master of the bark,' is among the *O.C.* duplicates.

maimed in that point. These barks take with them likewise the scale of wood whereon the sapon was weighed, which contains 4 c[attie]s just; and have also done up two peculls of wood, containing 19 sticks or pieces, all marked at both ends with the mark



in the margin, whereby to avoid controversy if any difference in weight should be. We are credibly informed that 88 catt[ie]s here in Firando doth hold out 100 catt[ie]s there at Meaco, but how this agreeth with the reports of [Mr.] Eaton, who ever brought loss in weight to account, I cannot perceive.

The China Captain is returned from Langasaque, but cannot understand of our junks' arrival. The Amacan ship is by flying news reported to be come, but the truth is not known. Mr. Bailey remembers his commendations unto you, who is very weak. No news at present; but the Lord prosper your proceedings.

Your loving friend,

John Osterwick.

Addressed: To his loving friend, Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, dd. this. Per Leamondono, master of the bark.

Also a Japanese address.

388

John Totten[1] to Richard Wickham at Osaka.

Laus Deo. Ferando, this 20th of August, 1616.

SIR, Although unknown yet do I make bold to trouble you with these few lines, whereby you shall understand of the Thomas and Advice, two ships whereof I make no question but you have heard of, being here both to trim. Captain Cox before his departure hence had taken course for the procuring of pitch, which since his departure is grown frustrate and by no means to be procured, neither from Langosacke nor any other place so far as we can learn; and

[1] See p. 132.

therefore, without you be able to help us, we are like to go from hence untrimmed, which will not only be a great hindrance in the loss of time, but also in the endangering of the spoil of the ships, especially of the Advice, which is a small ship and to be worn out in the country, which will soon be if she be not here new sheathed. Therefore do desire you, if possible to be had, that you would procure 20 or 30 peculls for both ships; if not plenty to be had, yet at least as much as you may, if but 4 or 5 peculls, for we stand in great need of it and better to have a little than none at all; for we lay out what possible we can here, but I fear it will come to nothing. Thus although altogether unacquainted I should be glad to see you here, where I hope of better acquaintance. For present not further troubling you, do commend you to the loving mercies of the Lord, resting

Yours to my power,

John Totten.

Addressed: To his good friend Mr. Richard Wickam, merchant, dd. in Osacay.

389

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Miako, Osaka or elsewhere.

Shrongo in Japon, the 21st of August, 1616.

MR. WICKHAM, This day some two hours before night we arrived at this place, having had a toilsome journey by means of the rainy weather, as also by occasion of meeting Calsa Same[1] on the way, so that we could get no horses, which made our voyage a day longer than otherwise it would have been. I am informed that the old Emperor left order that Calsa Same should not be put to death but confined into a pagod, called Coye,[2] with certain others with him for the space of ten years, and if in the end the Emperor that now is found him and the rest conformable, that then he should use his

[1] See p. 138. [2] 'A church near Miaco, called Coye' (*Diary*, vol. i., p. 164).

discretion; yet others in the way as we passed along were of another opinion, viz. that at their arrival all should cut their bellies.

John Yossen[1] passed by this place three days past and is gone for Edo. And, as our host tells us, Masamoneda Dono[2] hath given the ship which is to go for New Spain unto Shongo Dono, son unto the Admiral of the Sea, whom I make account you know, he being a friend of ours; but as yet they have no pass to go. Some reported unto us in the way that the Emperor was providing forces to go against Massamoneda Dono, but our host Stibio saith there is no such matter.

I forgot to tell you how Mr. Totton willed me to lay out for him some 30 pezos in scritorios or suchlike macare[3] ware. I pray you look out for it, if it be possible against my return to Miaco, which, God willing, shall be with as much speed as possibly I may.

I should be glad to hear of the safe arrival of our small junk at Sackay and other barks they sent goods in from Firando; for we had a tuffon[4] as we passed per Meea[5] and were in danger to have lost or wet all our goods in passing per water; yet, God be thanked, there was little hurt.

It was well I gave you out a bottle of wine at Osackay, for of ten other bottles which were in the case I have but two left whole, the rest being staved and not a drop saved, by negligence of John Cook, being in his fustian fumes; and, to mend the matter, betwixt him and John Hawtery they staved my barrel of Zant oil, with two pots of sweetmeats (or conserves), and threw my bag of biscuit into a river; so that I may now say, when all is gone and nothing left: 'Fair fall the dagger with the dagger haft.' Truly the loss of them doth not a little anger me.

I make account I need not to put you in mind to look out for the sale of commodities and to procure some quantity of copper and iron in truck, or part commodity and part money as you best may, as I left you in memory. When you have read over this letter I pray you send it (or the copy thereof) to Firando, that our friends there may understand of our proceeding on our

[1] See p. 96. [2] Date Masamune. Cp. the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 164.
[3] See p. 53. [4] Typhoon. [5] Miya. Cp. the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 162.

journey hitherto; because I had no time now to write them, it being late and we determined to set forwards towards Edo to-morrow morning, God willing.

And so in haste I commit you to God, resting

Your loving friend,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, dd. in Miaco, Osakay, or elsewhere. Per conveyance of our host Stibio. Pay port one mas. *Also in Japanese.*

390

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham at Osaka or elsewhere.

[Firando, August, 1616].

MR. WICKHAM, I heartily commend me unto you, etc. My last unto you was per the two barks belonging to Quemondono and Leamondono, wherein I sent unto you two letters[1] of one tenor with the particulars of goods laden in every of those barks, to which letter for that and other matters I refer you. Since which time we have received a letter from Captain Cock per our own [fiofone[2]], mentioning his speedy passage and intent of going to Edo, and advising us that whereas it was agreed the small junk which [ ] cometh unto you should have gone to Edoe, we [should take?] counsel to alter that determination and send for Osackay, [the season of the?] year being far spent and the times now unseasonable for [weather?]; wherefore it is concluded that she come to you to Osakay first, to be informed what is best to be done and accordingly either there to unlade or proceed to Edoe, because you know the state of the place and what hope of sales may be there had.

I do likewise herein send you an inventory of all such goods as have been laden from this place to you, together with the junk. We have been so troubled these two days about examining,

[1] See p. 157.

[2] Jap. *fune*, a boat.

searching and inquiring for six rogues that are run away with the Thomas her skiff, that we have been prevented in writing, the wind and weather suddenly altering for the junk to depart. One of these villains is Mr. Rowe's man, who hath robbed him of near one hundred pounds in r[ial]s, jewels and linen; Mr. Rowe himself being gone for Langasaque after them, and there not meeting them intends to go for Shashma to the ship of New Spain there arrived.

I pray you pardon my brief writing at present. Mr. Nelsone desires you to be excused, for he undertaketh to write to the Captain[1] and myself to you, for time will not otherwise permit. The Lord prosper your proceedings.

Your loving friend,
John Osterwick.

Captain China hath sent for Mr. Eaton one jar of conserves, [one ?] jar of neepe,[2] and one case or chest of bottles, which Mr. Ea[ton left] behind him.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, at Osackay or elsewhere, dd. this.

391

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham at Osaka or elsewhere.

Laus Deo in Firando, the 1st of September, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I heartily commend me unto you, etc.

My last unto you was per the junk, wherein I gave you to understand of 442 peculls, 50 (?) catt[ie]s sapon wood net laden aboard her, the gross weight being 500 peculls, as also 50 sacks of alum containing net 67 peculls, 60 catties, the gross weight being 69 peculls 10 catt[ie]s; the which junk was appointed to touch at Osackay, there to receive further instructions from you whether it were best for her to unlade there or to go for Edoe, whither she was first appointed by Captain

[1] Cocks. [2] Wine made from the sap of the nipa palm.

Cock his order left with us, but afterwards upon receipt of his letters from Osackay (wherein he advised to take counsel about it in respect of the dangerous way thither) it was altered, and concluded first to speak with you, and accordingly proceed.

Since which time the King of Firando hath received letters from the Emperor to take up for his use 100 peculls of lead and some steel, the just quantity whereof I know not; but by reason we had made a bargain with the China Captain for all the lead at 6 t[aye]s 7 mas per pecull, though undelivered, we could not furnish the Emperor here; and therefore in respect we advertised him that we had sent 200 peculls to Osakay and Meaco, where he might be furnished, he requested us to write to you to deliver so much there to Saffiandono, which we willingly consented to, because you might the better demand your money upon delivery of the lead, which we could not do here. The King requesteth that you would not make known that any lead was to be had here in Firando, because he intendeth to write himself in like manner to Saffiandono and would not be taken false in his writing, for fear of displeasure. Now if you have sold all, they may as well take it of such merchants as you have sold it to as of us; but if you have not before the receipt hereof, I pray you furnish the Emperor, for we had much to do to keep our lead here although bargained for to another.

The 24th of August I received a letter from you per the conveyance of the Dutch host his son and withal six silk points for a token, for the which I thank you. In your letter you certify me of the receipt of the girdle sent you by the pilot, advising me to procure such stuffs as you have formerly writ to me about; but as heretofore I have certified you, so now again with more certainty, I do not know which way to employ any money to profit. For stuffs, they are few and very dear; ordinary grograins at 5 tayes per piece, and for other stuffs they are very bad, and to my judgment not in request in these parts.

It hath pleased God to take away Mr. Bailye, who departed this life the 30th of August and was buried the day following,[1]

[1] Dr. Riess has traced at Hirado (Firando) what he considers to be a portion of the stone wall which surrounded the English cemetery, 'on the top of a hill a little way out of Hirado town.'

whereby there is no merchant now in either of the ships; and therefore whereas you will me in this your foresaid letter to give you my opinion concerning your going or staying in the small ship, my answer is that if your business be in such order as you may go, and that your desire be to go, rather now to go in the Thomas, a ship of far better countenance and credit, where when you shall come to Bantam 'tis likely that either you shall have employment in her to some other place (she being new sheathed here), or else to go for England in her; but if you go not in her, in my opinion you were better stay another year till the coming of General Keeling, at which time I hope all things will be well, and some certainty in cases now difficult, as wages, etc., may then be truly known. I make account Captain Cock himself will go for England the next year, at whose going his place cannot be denied you; which if it please God to fall out so, you having means of your own cannot want employment for it to content, living here in Firando, as yourself is better acquainted with the means than I am.

The China Nequan[1] that went about our business of trade is returned, the junk being arrived at Gota[2] but himself not yet come to Firando. I pray God his news be good. The junk is laden with silk for the Captain China and his brother. My former opinion I refer to your better consideration; your good I wish and desire of God; you may take that course as may be most profitable. Your case of bottles, which heretofore you writ for, you will me to let alone unless I can procure it filled with sack or other strong drinks; but the truth is neither love nor money can procure either of those liquors.

And thus for this present I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, resting

Your loving friend,
John Osterwick.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, at Osackay or elsewhere, dd. these.

[1] See Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 122, etc. [2] Goto.

392

[John Millward] to General Keeling [at Bantam ?].[1]

Laus Deo. Teco, 10th September, 1616.

RIGHT Worshipful Sir, Sithence your departure from hence there hath not happened anything greatly material; only the Ponlimo and great men have made use of their accustomed policies, which is no news. Only in one thing they exceed themselves at former times, for all the pepper laden on the Expedition hath been bought of of the Ponlima and Orenkayes of this place, they not suffering the Gozzaratts or poor people (from whom we were wont to be furnished) to have any trade with us, but either to sell unto them their pepper or give so much upon every bahar as they have determined with themselves to get by it; but their aim is to bring all the trade into their own hands, they to serve the country with cloth and the English with pepper; which if they bring to pass (as I fear it may) will prove very prejudicial to the trade in this place; for they being of an insatiable griping disposition, and having all things in their own power, will make such use thereof as shall quickly cause our nation to be weary of this place. For, having the scale in their own hands, they weigh what they list and when they please; and if they like not the quantity and quality of the cloth they will keep poor men's pepper in their hands until they have such commodity from the English as may yield them their own conceived profit. How to remedy this I know not; yet, let it alone, it will in time grow intolerable. Only thus much (under your Worship's correction) I advise and think expedient that a ship of 100 tons or 120 tons were employed on this coast, and especially at Teco.[2] I make no question but her employments will defray her charge, and may do the Company a great deal of good service on these parts;

[1] The course of events at Tiku may be followed from the journals of Milward and Peyton in *Purchas* (vol. i., pp. 527, 532). Peyton's ship, the *Expedition*, reached that port from Bantam on June 18, 1616, and Keeling, with the *Dragon* and *Peppercorn*, arrived on July 26 from Achin. Keeling departed August 5. Peyton followed on September 11, and no doubt took with him the letter of which we have here a rough copy.

A list of the goods left at Tiku by Keeling will be found in *Factory Records: Sumatra*, vol. i. The total cost is given as 74,528 mámúdis, or 14,906 rials.

[2] Cp. p. 94.

first, in affrighting these base griping people, who are only to be curbed by the King of Achen; we have used many threatenings unto them in that nature, but seeing no performance they reckon our words in that kind but shadows, and when we protest to inform the King of their unjust dealing they do but laugh at us; but having a pinnace here at command they know we have been willing heretofore and now are able to perform our words; and if we should be enforced to send her to Achen to acquaint the King of our harsh usage, yet by bringing hither Achen stuffs and other commodities fit for this place, she may bear her charge with advantage and make a good voyage. But the chief matter is to transport pepper from hence to Bantam upon all occasions, whereby will ensue two great benefits to the Honourable Company; first, it prevents the many dangers great ships do often fall into on this coast, especially by long stay here, whereas I fear there will be too many [perish ?] if it be not prevented; secondly, the very sight of a great ship in this place causeth the advancement of the price of pepper and the depressing of the price of goods, insomuch that in the absence of shipping here may be forty in the hundred saved unto the Honourable Company, and our trade more free and void of disturbance. Likewise, by means of such a pinnace there may be four or five hundred tons of pepper carried to Bantam yearly, where our ships may take it in without further trouble; which is as much pepper as this place will yield.

For you shall understand, Sir, that on the first of September arrived here the King's new officer, Addick Raia[1] Pongolo

[1] 'The eight and twentieth of August arrived Addicke Raia Pongola Corcon from Achen, who had the King's goods to sell and power to receive all the King's customs past and to come. He came in nature of an informer, and therefore all men stood in fear of him. . . . . The fifteenth [Sept.] we begun to buy pepper, but were forced to promise Addicke Raia one hundred royals before we could have any trade. The next day I excepted against the weight, whereupon Raia took it away to examine it, whereat the Polimo was much afraid, having in that kind much abused our nation. The Pongelo came to the English house to reform the weights, but, being presently to weigh, gave us a weight less than that we had. The next day I sent him fifty ryals for a present, which he returned, saying he scorned to be fed like a boy. The one and twentieth, Captain Harris, being ashore, seemed to take so much upon him that Raia Addick sent to him to borrow 300 rialls of eight to buy him a wench, and pressed the matter so instantly that I was forced afterward to send him an hundred' (Millward's journal, *ut supra*). Cp. also p. 126.

Corcon[1] of this place, who is reported to have brought with him 3,000 tale of the King's to be invested in pepper, which I fear will be very prejudicial to our trade, it being the tyrant's custom to prescribe a price both for goods and pepper and to give his officers power to constrain the people to buy and sell with him at that rate. Besides the Ponlimo's harsh dealing hath caused the Captain of the Gozzaratts to lade a prow for Achen containing 25 baharrs, which will be gone within these 10 days, and I fear many others, having great quantity, will take the same course, whereby we shall be deprived of at least 200 tons of pepper; but what cannot be had must of necessity be forborne. I think if you please to ordain a ship for this place about Christmas here will be some lading for her, their harvest for pepper being at this time, but not merchantable three months after.

Touching the King's new officer, Addick Raia, my experience of him as yet is not sufficient to judge how good or bad he may be to the English; yet, Sir, out of my small speculation I think we have but one rogue more in the country. For though at present he seeks by all means to carry himself plausible unto us, yet he hath endeavoured to give me notice by many secret intimations that he [must?] be maintained in his place. He carries himself here in great state [and?] the Ponlema and all the rest tremble at him, for it seemeth he comes in nature of an informer; and I fear he is sent by the King rather to root our nation out of this place than do us any good. For [which?] opinion I have many forcible inducements; as, first, the coming here of the richest Gozzaratts in Achen, who arrived here the 4th of this month, but cannot learn any certainty of their business, only they are very well provided for trade and suppose they are factors from the King to buy up all the pepper and so divert the trade from this place to Achen. My next reason is grounded upon a proposition made unto me by Addick Raia to sell less cloth for money or pepper, whereby I understood that he endeavoured under that colour of friendship to draw the price of English goods within the compass of those rates prescribed unto him by the King for sale of his own goods; which if he

[1] 'Pongolo' is perhaps the Malay *punggawa*, 'an officer'. For 'Corcon,' see vol. iii., p. 222, and note; it is really a Hindustani word (*kárkun*, 'a clerk') of Persian origin, and was possibly learned from the Gujaráti traders at Achin.

could have obtained, we should not have bought a catte of pepper until they had fitted themselves. But these conjectures (wanting for strength, which a little time may give them) I refer unto the issue.

I have laden upon the Expedition (whom God preserve) [*blank*] of pepper, containing net weight, per bill of lading enclosed, [*blank*]. And finding the stay of two ships in this place offensive to our business, concluded to unlade the Peppercorn, and so have accomplished the Expedition ['s] full lading, amounting unto [*blank*].

[Concerning ?] the Peppercorn, her stay here (God willing) shall be no longer than [ ], in which time I hope to procure 4 or 500 baharrs, but not more, [considering ?] the weakness of our cargazon and shortness of time. Our bla [ck] baftas, fine and coarse, are almost gone, likewise some of the candiques; but none of the blue selas, the people standing to have 36 as [ ], whereas I would willingly keep the price set down by your Worship, which is 34, unless necessity constrain otherwise. Baftas blue or white of greater price than 3 mamodes I [hold unfit ?] for this place, the difference of one or two mamodes being [ ] with them, for they say they are all but baftas.

Sir, there hath happened some disgust between Captain Harris, myself, and other merchants ashore, in regard he began to assume unto himself [that ?] which no way belongs unto him; but in regard the business is fully related in this council hereinclosed,[1] I omit to trouble you with further repetition.

Sir, in divers matters I should explain myself more [largely, but ?] that Captain Payton is able to supply anything omitted by me, [he ?] being acquainted with the proceed of all business, and therefore I forbear to trouble your Worship further at this time, but commit you to the merciful protection of the Almighty.

Endorsed: The copy of a letter written to General Keelinge.

[1] Missing.

393

William Stonywell[1] to William Sheppard[2] at Bantam.

In Jaccatra, the 10th of September, 1616.

SIR, After my kind commendations remembered to yourself, you may please to understand that I received your letter of the 6th ditto,[3] wherein I perceive you would have your benjamin remain in the Attendant till she come to Bantam, which shall be effected if I can possibly get to the island, which I make no question but to be there within two or three days; if not, I will write that it may be done. Mr. Callis is dead and Mr. Alexander is master; and one Mr. Whitlocke goeth chief merchant, which came in the Dragon. She is bound again for Jambee, but what lading and where she shall take it in I know not, neither where she shall unlade her benjamin, but I am certain she shall come for Bantam before she go away. That small quantity of benjamin which I have is sold for ready money at 22 r[ial]s per pecull to one bound home in the Dragon, which money I can presently lay out in certain commodities aboard the Dragon to get cento per cento presently; and having this good opportunity I was very unwilling to let it slip, although I made promise with you to let you have it, giving as another would, before any man; but I having kept it in my hands this six months and you being at present without your money in your hands, I building of your love to me, knowing you would not wish my hindrance, therefore I presume you will not be offended thereat, but that I should now make my best markets, having sold it to a private friend and will no way hinder yours. I could have sold it when the Expedition was at Bantam, and could there have employed my money very well, but I still depended upon you. [Others ?] in this house which had a small stock in their hands hath go[t ?] commodities since the arrival of the General 100 r[ial]s and upwards; which bargain I could have had if I had money; but yet all is not gone.

[1] Went out as an attendant on Youart, the cape merchant of the *Advice*. He appears to have died in 1618 or 1619.

[2] See vol. iii., p. 315.

[3] Not extant.

I will write Mr. Bonner what you wished me to certify him of; likewise Mr. Sandcraft. Mr. Bonner hath been sick of the flux, but he is reasonably well recovered thereof.

Concerning news I know of none, by reason of my being ashore here in Jaccatra a-writing; but as I understand there is little or none yet agreed upon till the General's coming to Bantam, which will be very shortly, if not so soon as this. The Speedwell arrived here the 6th ditto, and lost the Concord the day before she came in at sea, but as yet there is no news of her.

Thus having not further to trouble you I pray God to keep you and all your affairs in His safe protection, and rest

Yours to be commanded,

William Stonywell.

Addressed: To his very loving friend Mr. William Sheppard, merchant, dd. in Bantam.

Endorsed: William Sheppard's and Stonywell's private trade.

394

Richard Cocks to Richard Wickham at Miako or elsewhere.

Edo in Japon, the 13th of September, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, Since my departure from you I have written you three other letters besides this, viz. one dated in Shrongo the 21st ultimo,[1] left with our host Stibio to be conveyed unto you; the second from a town called Odouar, sent per a merchant of Fushami, who told me he knew you, and was dated the 24th ditto; and the third letter from this city of Edo, dated the 28th ditto, sent per a man of the King of Firando's; in all which letters I advised you of the needful, as time then required, desiring you to despatch the others for Firando per first sure conveyance, of the which I make no doubt.

[1] See p. 159. Neither of the other two is extant.

So now staying here in Edo longer than we expected, attending our despatch, I thought good to send away one of our too many followers express unto you, desiring you to send him for Firando with the letter to Mr. Nealson and Mr. Osterwick[1] as soon as you have read it over (only putting a little hard wax under the seal and so shut it up), because I will not spend much time in writing to you both to one effect.

This is the 13th* day since we delivered our present to the Emperor, and as yet cannot have despatch, neither am certain when we shall; only we are daily put off from day to day, willing us to come to-morrow, yet with fair words. You would wonder to see what looking here is after padres, as you may perceive more at large per the enclosed. It is thought there will some go to the pot before it be long; for here is boards set up in every street with very strict order for bringing them to light and utter ruin to them and their posterity that shall conceal them. It is said the like order is sent to all other places in Japon. It rested doubtful since our arrival in this place whether all Christians should be banished out of Japon or no, and I verily think that if it could have been proved that we had christened any children with papist priests we had been held to be of their faction or sect and so banished. It is said that the Spaniards have direct order to depart with their ship from Orengava and in pain of their lives not to return any more into Quanto, neither with padres nor without; and it rest[s] doubtful whether they and the Portingales will be permitted to come to Langasaque or no, especially if any padres be found in those parts, for that the Emperor cannot abide them in any sort. And so let this suffice for that matter.

* I hope now within 2 or 3 days.

Two days past arrived here Gonosqo Dono, and brings me two letters from Firando, as you may perceive by the enclosed. He saith he came directly from Osakay to Fushami, so that he did not see you. It seemeth per the letters I received from Firando that the little junk, to come for this place, and a bark laden with wood to come to you for Osakay, were laden above a month past. Since which time we have had much southerly

[1] This letter is missing.

winds; so I make no doubt but you have news of them long before the date hereof, of which I shall be glad to hear.

You may also perceive by the enclosed letter how they are out of hope to procure sales below, and that they cannot sell our junk, and therefore think it fit to set her out again; to which I have made answer that I am of their opinion to set her out, but withal have advised them that it cannot be done without money, as well to repair her as also to send in her to provide lading; and it will cost no small matter to trim our two ships. Besides they expect great matters to be sent in them for Bantam, and no other means have we to furnish these matters but of the money you procure for sales of our goods at Miaco and Firando; for I stand in much doubt our other goods which cometh per Ed. Sayer and Captain Shobie's junk will hardly come this year; and yet if they should, it is not certain whether we shall be able to make present sale of them and the rest. So that the remembrance thereof with other matters giveth me such discontent that I am at my wits' end and know not what to do.

And now can I not have answer here whether the Emperor will have our lead and tin or no; only Oyen Dono and Codgskin Dono tell me that there is order given to Safian Dono for the buying thereof. So my opinion is that you go to him and know whether he will take it, and so get money into your hands as fast as you can before our coming, that we may carry it with us if it be possible.

I pray you stand not upon the price of anything, but sell as you can to get into money; and rather than fail, take a good partido of copper and iron, so you may sell away quantity of wood and skins. I can say no more herein than I have done; only it will be some comfort to me if you sell away for some great partido before my coming to you.

We have set price of our best stamels and black cloths at 14 taies per tattamy and the red at 12 tais per tattamy; and for yellow we have none, but I esteem it as bad as the Venice red; also our baize, stamit and black at 6 taies, and yellow at 3 tais per tattamy. I say we have set these prices on them; but as yet not sold one tattamy, but to the contrary given away

most part of that we brought and so may we soon be shut of the rest if we will let it go for a grunt; and yet of some we have not that. God send me once out of this misery.

I know not what else to write, but leave you with your affairs to the holy protection of the Almighty.

Your loving friend,
Ric. Cocks.

Kept till the [14th ?] *ditto.*

Signor Nicolas Machievell[1] playeth the jade. I would I could set his horse on wincing again. He saith his son is run from him and taken up 200 bars of gold in his father's name of one which owed him money. I say this is the report and that he is gone to Miaco. If you meet him use him kindly and commend him for his cavelero-like humour. The Emperor went out on hawking this morning, as it is said, with above 10,000 men in his company. It is said he will return to-night.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, deliver in Miaco or elsewhere, per express. I pray you send away this express for Firando, with all speed possible, with the enclosed letters to Mr. Nealson and Mr. Osterwick; and, if he want money to carry him to Firando, furnish him with it. Let him go with speed, or else we may be afore him.

395

William Eaton to Richard Wickham at Miako or elsewhere.
Edo, the 13th of September, 1616.

MOST loving and kind friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me unto you, with desire of your good health as my own, etc.

You shall understand that we came to Edo the 27th ultimo, and the first of September we delivered our present to the Emperor, but as yet we cannot be despatched, by the reason

[1] A nickname given by the factors (for obvious reasons) to the shifty Japanese trader whom they elsewhere call Migmoy (see the *Diary*, vol. i., p. 176). Dr. Riess thinks he may have been identical with Adams' father-in-law, Magome Kageiyu.

there is much ado here about banishing away of all the friars and Jesuits that are yet remaining in many places of Japon, going disguised in the habits of merchants. Here is divers writings set up by the Emperor that no man or woman shall give meat or drink or likewise harbour any of such kind of people upon pain of cruel death to be inflicted upon them and their kindred; and for that cause hath sent divers spies abroad into all his dominions. The Nova Espania ship is not as yet departed from Orounggava, nor will not yet this month, as it is reported. It is thought that when she goeth from thence she will go for the Manillias and not for Nova Spania. The pilot of her hath paid me all was owing by him unto me upon account.

Nequemona, alias Nicmoy,[1] hath visited the Captain[2] with a present of eating commodities and withal used such fair words unto him, promising that what he would have him pay he would do it; besides, in all haste he would be of our religion, thinking thereby to deceive the Captain, who presently smelt him out what he was. As yet I cannot see a penny come from him, nor I know not when I shall; but I think before our departure from hence he will make payment of the piece of black cloth and the two pieces of baftas that were remaining in his hands; but for that which is coming unto us, for the gold, his house and godung hath eaten all up, as I perceive per Captain Adames' speeches, who was an arbitrator in the business. His son hath taken up upon the account of his father Nicklis Machefeld 200 bars of gold, to be repaid him at no port, and so withal hath taken his journey for Miaco and those parts for to revel it out there, like the roaring boy of the Fortune,[3] who will make the stout queans to tremble.

I find wanting divers things that were put into the invoice, which were either left behind with you or else stolen by the way; which I think rather of the two to be stolen, for that all the chests came hither broken; besides several ones had been opened by the way and new packed again, as William Sweateland says; but howsoever, I find wanting one piece of diaper for napkins, 9 table-books, 66 mas weight of bright amber, 15 mas weight of pale

[1] Migmoy (see p. 173). On the negotiations with him, see Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 168, &c.

[2] Cocks.

[3] The Fortune playhouse, in Golden Lane. The roaring boy was a well-known character of the time.

amber, and one single piece of chint Bramport, which I think was given away at Firando, and so I was mistaken, taking two single pieces for three. I had since my coming hither one whole piece of chint Bramport, containing three single pieces, stolen very strangely. There wanted likewise 3 gallipots of tale, viz., one of 6 lbs., high pot, one of 6 lbs., flat pot, one of 1 lb., high pot; and for the rest of them they were most part broken by the way and especially the great ones; so as we had not enough for presents. Also there was stolen by the way two bars of tin.

I would have written you more at large, but at present I have no time; wherefore for other news I refer you to Captain Cocks' letter. Mr. Wilson hath him commended unto you, who at present is not well. I have bespoke of our makeman some make[1] ware, which I pray you to let your jurebasso go to him from you to will him to make them ready against our coming to Miaco and to do them very well, which I hope he will.

And thus I end, praying to the Almighty God for your good health and prosperity, the which in His mercy long to continue, if it be His good will and pleasure. Resting always

Your loving friend to command,

William Eaton.

Addressed: To his approved good friend Mr. Richard Wickham, merchant, this dd. [in] Miaco or elsewhere.

396

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham, at Osaka, Miako or elsewhere.

Laus Deo in Firando, the 15th of September, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I heartily command me unto you, etc.

My last of the first of this present,[2] per the conveyance of the Dutch, I hope you have received, to the which I refer me. Since which time I have received from you your last letter by the hands of Toistro, your man,

[1] See p. 53, note.

[2] See p. 162.

bearing date the 19th of August last past,[1] wherein you give me to understand of the receipt of the chest, trunk and fardle sent per Captain Jourden, with other matters.

Whereas you write concerning the charging of those two factories of Meaco and Edoe particularly and by himself, it may be very well done (if the Captain be so contented) in this case that when either of you, wanting commodities (as yourself doth mention), write particularly unto us to be furnished from hence; but in such a case as this of the Captain his going up, wherein he giveth order for the providing of such and such merchandise, not knowing what will be fitting to leave at Meaco or take for Edoe before the goods come thither, in such a case, I say, it cannot be otherwise but the factory at Meaco must be charged with the whole and to discharge himself by so much sent up to Edoe. Concerning the difference of weight and mistaking in packing of goods I am altogether ignorant and blameless (except in two particulars, as hereafter I will show you), Mr. Eaton having the sole managing both of the weighing and packing in that business, in respect I was sick at that present and could not perform it; but, howsoever, I am of opinion that the fault is not in the beam, nor in the party that weighs it here, because it agrees with other beams of this place, which Mr. Eaton can testify, having proved it by other [two ?] beams before he would accept thereof, and afterward saw the weighing thereof himself, wherein I presume he would not take small weight. But I do rather judge an ignorance or knavery used by them that you do employ to weigh it there; for if they did understand themselves rightly and that there be a difference in the weight, it must of force follow the truth of difference to be known and so consequently all things, be it more or less, would fall out by proportion; but hitherto I cannot see any such proportion to prove a difference, no, not in any nearness of truth; whereby I do gather that either ignorance or knavery in your weighers is the occasion thereof. The like I know you may imagine of our weighers here; but this argument I have against such an objection, that our weighing here comes so much more near to the English weight given unto us per invoice, as you are short

[1] See *Factory Records: China*, vol. xv., No. 42.

from us, and yet we ourselves at all times fall more shorter than the true proportion of 21 oz. $\frac{11}{3200}$ parts to a cattie Japon[1] should give. Now whereas you write that you might not be charged with more than you receive, I know not how to alter the invoice in that point, in respect the pursers have taken the weight with us for their satisfaction at Bantam, because of the great loss of pepper and wax the last year per the Osiander; only this, you were best to make a parcel for such wants, mentioning Captain Cock as a witness thereunto, because he saw it there weighed, and withal to desire his acknowledgment thereof by his writing for your own discharge. And for those 16 pieces diaper which you have received under the title of one piece containing 16 napkins of 18*d.* per napkin, they are 16 pieces of 11½ yards per piece, cost 18*d.* per napkin, 11*s.* per piece, the error arising in this manner: by the note of John Haurtree, that holp Mr. Eaton, he gave in 1 piece diaper containing 6 yards for tabling, 1 piece diaper for napkins containing 36 napkins; and because there was another piece diaper for napkins containing 16 napkins, I imagined (without inquiry) that it was the 16 pieces which you have there. This is my error, which I pray you amend. The blackframed looking-glass was mistaken, for we received but six in all, whereof we have three yet remaining only. Haurtree his note mentioned four. For the 5 gilt glasses overplus, three oval of 12*s.* per piece was left out by me, which Haurtree made mention of, but how there comes two more I know not. And for the gallipots, that ordinary Japon parcel of profit and loss will help such broken ware. Concerning the sending of your accounts my meaning and desire is that you would begin the same with the cargazon you received at your going up with Mr. Coppindall to Edoe and to end the same with your return to Firando, your presents, sales, charges and remains therein contained, because it was a particular thing performed without undertaking any other business till you went up again, and because Mr. Eaton doth discharge his account by so much delivered unto you.

For your provisions, I have done my endeavour to furnish you, time not permitting to send to Langasaque for the citron,

[1] Cp. p. 54. This makes the *picul* about 131¼ lbs. avoirdupois.

ginger, candles and sugar, but have borrowed some of the Captain China till I can procure some to pay him again. For stuffs, no hopes at all, as I have formerly written, and therefore if I can employ part of your money upon the conditions ordinary for Syam to repay the double, and if you will give your consent thereunto, I hold it no unfit course. Likewise if you put part thereof into the hands of Captain China to adventure for Cochen it would not be amiss, for better were it to be employed abroad than to lie still another year. For the copper, make no question but I will send it for Bantam, wherein if you please I will bear my half; but in what ship I cannot yet determine of, neither will I speak thereof to any man till they be almost ready to go, for fear they be moneyed men should provide for themselves and overlay the market.

I have made use of the chirurgeon of the Advice in your behalf, who hath sent you some simples with his note of direction, which he approveth upon many experiences to be the only best means for your disease. As for the lotion water he hath sent you none, being not so fitting as these other. For your sword and proffer of anything else I heartily thank you, desiring you to use me or anything else I have in the like. And as for your woman, she denieth utterly to have wronged you in that kind; yet howsoever I would you had not sent her away so bare, because of the speech of people whose tongues cannot be restrained.

I have occasion to use three or four scretories[1] of leather of 12 mas per piece, and if you can procure a good handsome one of 4 tayes price, I pray send them me down. Likewise a seffra[2]; I mean the furnace alone, without the box, with a spout and funnel thereto belonging.

The merchandise that now I send you are mentioned in an invoice herein enclosed, wherein are 12 jars of Syam blacking for varnish belonging to Edmund Sayres. I pray you make away with them in the best manner you can for his good in his absence. The weight of them I cannot tell, only the jars are full. We have sent unto you all the skins of Syam and Russia,

[1] Writing-desks (see note on p. 53).

[2] A *cha-buro*, lit. tea-furnace or bath, a small portable arrangement for heating water for tea (note by Dr. Aston).

except a very few. I pray God the barks and junk arrive in safety to you, for we have very untoward weather in these parts.

Mr. Nelson remembers his commendations unto you, with Mr. Rowe, etc. I have received of Skeets the 10 t[aye]s plate of bars; and concerning the 50 t[aye]s which Skeets paid for nails,[1] I would desire you to send me word if the nails which were sent down were in full satisfaction thereof; for the man that brought them down went away before I could come to any reckoning with him. The several parcels received were these: 20,000 nissungobun cungy, containing 430½ cattes; 2,000 sansun cungy, containing 67¾ cattes; 2,000 sissun cungy, containing 43¾ cattes; 600 issungobun cungy, containing 44¾ cattes; 2,000 nissun cungy, containing 19¾ cattes; 2,000 issun cungy, small nails, bought, I make account, by tale; 188½ cattes rocksun cungy,[2] great nails or spikes. I pray you satisfy me in this, that I may accordingly reckon with the purser of the Thomas.

I have paid 11 t[aye]s freight for this bark, which is his whole dues and therefore you are to pay him nothing there.

And thus for the present I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. Your loving friend,

John Osterwick.

The provisions heretofore and now sent to you are these, viz.:

	[T.	m.	c.]
[ ] Cattes of [biscuit] at [*blank*] per pecull	[*blank*]		
For a jar to put it in	00	1	2
For dried fish	01	0	0
For eggs	00	1	2
At this present			
79 cattes of biscuit at [*blank*] per pecull .	[*blank*]		
For 46 hens	02	3	3
For 180 eggs	00	9	2
For hens' meat	00	3	6
For 3 jars for the biscuit	00	3	6
For 1 small jar sugar borrowed.			

[1] See p. 118.

[2] Dr. Aston has been kind enough to explain these terms. He says: '*Cungy*, which we now spell *kugi*, is the ordinary Japanese word for nail; *is-sun-go-bun*, one inch, five tenths; *san-sun*, three inches; *sissun* (*shi-sun*), four inches; *nissun* (*ni-sun*), two inches; *is-sun*, one inch; *rocksun* (*rokŭ-sun*), six inches.'

Kept till the 21st day.

You shall understand that the wood laden aboard this bark is great weight 40 peculls, but for the beam or scale whereon the wood was weighed we allow 4 cattes per draught for 20 draughts; the which scale he taketh with him and withal 2 peculls of wood containing eleven pieces marked at both ends with the Company's mark; I mean the eleven pieces and scale weigh together two peculls. I have not made any mention of your wine hitherto in your letter, expecting to have been furnished by the Osiander, but all means have failed; but yet I doubt not to be furnished from Mr. Rowe before you have occasion to use it.

John Osterwick.

Addressed; To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickam, merchant, at Osackay, Meaco, or elsewhere, dd. this.

397

John Osterwick to John Jourdain at Bantam.

Laus Deo. Firando in Japon, the 21st of September, 1616.

WORSHIPFUL Sir, After my duty remembered. The manifold courtesies which you showed to me at my being at Bantam with you doth bind me with more than an ordinary affection to do you service; and therefore, notwithstanding the letter written jointly unto you under both our names,[1] in the absence of Captain Cocke, I could not overslip this present opportunity, but remember you with these few lines in my own particular, wherein although I cannot advise you of more concerning the Company's business than there is contained and this convenience could permit to write of, yet have I better opportunity to remember my love and service unto you.

I writ unto you by the Osiander, wherein I gave you to understand of such matters as time then offered to write of,

[1] Not extant.

which I hope you received; but rather should I have been glad to have gone myself to have given you satisfaction for the great charges of that ship, but it was otherwise ordered for me. If my endeavours in this place shall deserve such notice as after the years of a young apprentice I may be called to a further and better service for the Honourable Company I shall give unto God the glory, to my friends the thanks; if not, patience must help me, as it did Coreat[1] when he had no shift.

Mr. Rowe, Mr. Tatton,[2] with the rest are in good health; only it hath pleased God to take away Mr. Baielie, with two other of the Thomas her company and one of the Advice. And thus for this present, with my best wishes for your health and happiness and commendations to that small remainder that there doth know me, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty; resting

Your Worship's to command,

John Osterwick.

Endorsed: Received this letter the first December, 1616.

And in another hand: Copy of John Osterwicke's letter from Japan of 21 September, 1616, directed to John Jourden in Bantam. Of no moment. Received the 20 June, 1617, in London, by the Clove.

398

Wm. Nealson and John Osterwick to the Agent at Patani.

Firando in Japon, the 21st of September, 1616.

SIR, As unknown to your name and person we salute you, etc.

The conveyance by this small ship the Jaccatra being proffered us by the Captain of the Dutch factory in Firando, we could in no sort omit, as well in respect we understand that she is bound likewise for Bantam, whereby these

[1] Thomas Coryat, the 'Odcombian leg-stretcher,' whose oddities furnished great amusement to his contemporaries. For a note on his Asian travels, see *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 103.

[2] See p. 132.

our letters may be thither conveyed, as to inform you and the factory of Syam with such occurrences as here have passed. Wherefore you shall understand that here is two English ships arrived, viz. the Thomas and Advice, the Thomas by the way of the Mollocos and the Advice directly from Bantam. Our junk Sea Adventure arrived in safety likewise with men and goods; but for the two other junks freighted per Mr. Fayrey for the Honourable Company, we have no tidings at all, which maketh us to fear some evil hath betided them.

Mr. Bailey, that was merchant of the Thomas, departed this life the 30th of August last. The old Emperor of Japon is dead; whereby Captain Cock is gone up to his son to renew our privileges. We pray you to convey these letters according to their several directions for Bantam and Syam by the first conveyance. Our junk is to return for Syam this year, and therefore (if it were possible) we would give Mr. Fayrey to understand thereof before, to whom we have written concerning such business as the present occasion offereth to write.

And thus for this present we commit you to the protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friends,

William Nealson.

John Osterwick.

Addressed: To our loving friend the Principal for the English nation resident in Patania, dd. this.

399

William Nealson and John Osterwick to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Laus Deo in Firando, the 21st of September, 1616.

MR. FAYREY, We commend us very kindly unto you, etc.

Your letter[1] by Captain Addams was received per our Captain, Mr. Richard Cock, by which your letter you gave him, and with himself us also, to understand of all such

[1] Dated June 3 (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 155). Not extant.

matters as there had passed, as well concerning the junk's charges and lading as also of such things as the King of Syam desired to be furnished with from Japon.

Now you shall understand that before the junk's arrival at this place (which was on the 27th[1] of July) there were two ships come from Bantam, the one of them the Thomas, which came by the way of the Moolocos, the other the Advice, whereof Mr. Totten is master; the Thomas being laden with broadcloths for the most part, with some lead, steel and a great deal of Lime Street, Pope's Head Alley, and Bartholomew[2] ware, we mean gallipots, pictures, and trifles; the Advice with some broadcloth, lead and alum, with a like partithoe[3] of gallipots and pictures. By the coming of which ships the Captain (according to the custom of the country) provided for his voyage to Meaco and Edo to present the young Emperor (the old man being dead) with such merchandise as the ships had brought; and being ready to depart, the news of the junk's coming stayed his proceeding for a time to take Captain Addams with him, who as well for that purpose as otherwise arrived in a good hour in safety, ship and goods.

The wood and skins we have received according to your invoice; but the skins so evil entreated by worms that worse could not be. We cannot wonder that you had some controversy there at Syam about those mariners of the junk, for we ourselves here have had somewhat to do with them about their privileges[4]; but in the end could not find any remedy but that the custom of those voyages was such, which we could not withstand. As for the other two junks, we cannot understand anything of them, which maketh us to doubt that either they are not come forth of Syam or else some evil hath befallen them in these tempestuous times as we have had upon this coast all this year.

To certify you of the price of these Syam wares, how they do sell here, we cannot certainly do it, in respect we have not sold anything, but the price expected at the most is 28 mas Japon for a pecull of wood; and for the skins they are so bad that we

[1] Really the 22nd (see the *Diary*). [2] Bartholomew Fair. [3] Partido (see p. 95).
[4] See p. 150.

cannot imagine a price for them; neither if they were good can we learn what they be worth, for no man offereth nor inquireth for them. We have not heard from Captain Cock but once since his departure, which only mentioned his arrival at Osackay (his first landing-place), which is within a few miles of Meaco; and therefore cannot advise you what hopes of sales are there, neither how you may expect to be furnished of those things which you writ for.

The junk, God willing, is to be made ready for another voyage to Syam with as much expedition as may be, for no man will buy her but to our great loss,[1] whereby we might take freight in other junks, as you advise; but what her cargazon shall be we are not able to resolve you till the coming of the Captain.

We are here so harrowed with the Honourable Company's expectations of such great matters here, to furnish Bantam with moneys, and at such great charges in repairing of shipping, that it is a thing impossible to answer their conceits in any measure, especially having such a deal of trifles here (which they imagine to be ready money), and cloth not much to be sold in such short time.

The Amacan ship is not yet come this year, and therefore past expectation, which will be a means we shall have the better sale for our merchandise. The junk of the Hollanders which they took freight in to come for this place miscarried in Shashma, but with the loss of part of the goods only. They are likewise preparing their great junk for Syam with all speed for another voyage.

And thus for this present we commit you and your affairs to the protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friends,

William Nealson.

John Osterwick.

Addressed: To their loving friend Mr. Benjamin Fairey, Captain and Cape Merchant of the English factory at Syam, dd. these.

Endorsed: Received the 29th of March, 1617, per the way of Pottania.

[1] It had been intended to sell the junk if possible (see p. 172, and *Diary*, vol. i., p. 155).

400

John Osterwick to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Laus Deo. Firando in Japon, the 21st September, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Fairey, I commend me unto you, etc.

By the Company's letter we have written unto you jointly[1] concerning such business as the present time affordeth to write of, in the absence of the Captain. I call it the Company's letter, because it treateth of their business, and wherein a man cannot so well congratulate with his friend as he desireth. And therefore, forasmuch as I have been formerly acquainted with you at Patania, when I came thither in the Osiander, where I received many favours from you, I cannot let pass the kindness showed unto me with a silent tongue, but in these few lines do give you most hearty thanks for the same, wishing that I might be able to show my thankfulness by some service which you may impose upon me.

The three pieces of damask with the mace which I received of you at Patania could not be sold to any content, no man offering for the best of them above 2 ta[ye]s; and for the mace it is altogether unknown to these country people the use thereof, and therefore none would offer for it. One of your pieces of stuff, which was the worst of all, I sold for 2 ri[al]s; another piece I have taken for my own use, and the third yet remaineth; for all which I will send you satisfaction by the junk. But for the mace, I sent it with Mr. Coppindall, who, as I understand by his letter, hath delivered into the hands of Mr. Sheppard at Bantam for your use. I am sorry that I could do no better therein for you, but my good will was not wanting.

I pray you commend me to Mr. Johnson if he be there with you. We understand of the death of Captain Larken by a letter from Mr. Browne sent per the small Hollanders[2] that goeth between Japon and Patania; for whose death I am sorry, but the will of God is not to be withstood.

If my remaining here may any way pleasure you, I pray you make use of me, whom you shall find ready to satisfy your desire

[1] See p. 182. [2] The *Jacatra* (see p. 88).

to my power. And thus, with my best wishes for your health and prosperity, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friend,

John Osterwick.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Benjamin Fairey, Captain and Cape Merchant of the English Factory in Syam, dd. this.

Endorsed: Received the 29th of March, per way of Pottania, 1617.

401

John Totten to John Jourdain at Bantam.

Laus Deo. Ferando, the 21st of [September, 1616].

WORTHY Sir, Your health with continual prosperity desire [d of the] Almighty, etc. Having this good conveyance I make bold to [visit you with ?] these few lines, whereby you shall understand that after my departure from Bantam, which was the last of May (Saturday), I arrived in Ferando that day six weeks following, which was the 13th of July; where I found the Thomas (Mr. Row), who arrived about 20 days before me, and about the [22nd] of July Mr. Adams arrived here with his junk from Siam, being laden with wood and hides, bringing news of another junk, the one half of her lading laden at Siam for the account of the Right Worshipful Company; in which junk Mr. Saires came alongst in her, but is not yet heard of. The monthzons being spent, she is not to be looked for this year.

The 27th of July Captain Cox went for Meaco and so to the new Emperor, the old being dead; whose return we expect by the fine of this month or the mid of October. Mr. Wickham I have not seen, being at Meaco, but hear he is in health. Mr. [Eaton is with] Captain Cox, and Mr. Baylye ended his days the [30th August; the rest ?] thanks be to God, in health. At present our [ship is on the] careen, three-quarters sheathed, the Thomas one side [ ] but the bray[1] or pitch that we [ ] once, the price but 8 tayes, the [ ] of it proves dirt, and the scarcity [ ] a pecull is not to be got for [ ]

[1] An obsolete term for 'pitch' (Fr. *brai*).

come hither to trim that she [ ] for fear they be disappointed of the [ ] know how Captain Cocks will determine with [ ] therefore cannot resolve you of anything [News ?] here is none worth relating, and the [ ] you for present do commit yourself with all [ ] mercies of the Lord; resting

Yours to command,

[John Totten].

I pray you remember my love to Mr. Gourney and Mr. Sheppard, if not gone from thence.

Addressed: To the Worshipful his very good friend, Captain John Jordaine, dd.

Endorsed: John Tattin, master of the Advice, from Japan to John Jourdain in Bantam, of 21 September, 1616. *Also:* Received the 20 June in London, 1617, by the Clove.

401 A

John Browne to [Benjamin Farie ? at Siam].[1]

[Patani, October 1st ? 1616.]

MY last unto you per way of Bancosoy[2] I sent by Orincay Santoma his junk, wherein I writ you that Nohody[3] Chinhonne's voyage for Syam was given over, so that I was out of hope of sending Sultan Collye's adventure; but since, upon further conference with him, he have

[1] This letter is neither dated nor addressed. The date given above is the one adopted by the editor of the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, following the conjecture made in the list of contents of the O.C. volume. It is probably right, or nearly so. As regards the person addressed, John Johnson, second factor at Siam, is suggested in the list of contents referred to, and this has been accepted in the *Calendar*. Presumably this supposition is based on the fact that, at the time the letter was written, Farie, the head of the Siam factory, was dead, and Johnson was in charge. But the news of Farie's death did not reach the factory at Patani until October 7 (see p. 211; also Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2086, f. 18); and Browne was evidently unaware of it when he wrote, for otherwise he would have mentioned the subject. I have therefore assumed that the letter was actually addressed to Farie.

[2] Probably Bangplasoy, on the E. side of the Gulf of Siam, 40 miles S.E. of Bangkok.

[3] Nákhudá (captain). 'Chinhonne' appears to be the 'Checcory' of p. 114.

promised me to receive into his junk these parcels following, conditioning to sell the wax at Bancosoy and so in his prow to go for Syam and deliver you what moneys he shall receive for the same, being these parcels following:

	ta.	
7 pecull wax, at 10 tayll the pecull, is	70	sum is 96 taylls Syam
7½ cattes opium,[1] as per the account returned . . .	11½	
15 cattes silk at	11½	
22 cattes Camboja[2] at . .	03	
rest to balance his account the sum		. 23 tayll 1 tygall
		119 1

For the which 23 tayll, 1 tygall I have 40 jars of Camboja sugar, which will not sell here in Pattanya for above 2 copan the jar: more 1½ quoyane[3] of boetratte,[4] the which will yield about 2 taylles Pattanya. These two parcels I would willingly have sent you, but not having any conveyance for them I must use the best means I can for the sale of them and by the next make return of the 23 tayle 1 tyggal. I pray let me hear from you, and send me a receipt for so much as you shall receive from him, these commodities being returned at these prices. The wax I received in little cakes all eaten with worms and full of dross; so that I was fain (?) to melt it and purify all, and in melting there was 104 cattes lost, all turned to dross, which makes the wax so much the dearer; so that with all charges the wax cost 10 tayll Syam the pecull.

Tyggalls[5] is here at 25 per tayll, rials 15 per tayll, and Japon silver 17 per t[a]yll, and will not be changed; so neither for my part at present I have neither silver nor gold to defray household expenses.

So hoping of the safe delivery of these things, I rest, entreating

[1] MS. 'ophyum.' [2] Gamboge. [3] See vol. iii., p. 320.

[4] This term remains an enigma.

[5] The silver Siam *tikul* was worth three-fifths of a rial (vol. iii., p. 322); at 15 rials to the Patani gold *tael*, the *tikul* would be exactly one-twentyfifth of the *tael*, as above stated.

you not to charge this factory with Sultan Collye's account. I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and ever rest

Yours to command to my power,

John Brow[ne].

Remember me very kindly to Mr. John Ferryes, Mr. Robert Burges, Tho. Winterborme, and all the rest of our friends.

No address or endorsement.

402

In Swally road, aboard the Charles, the 2nd of October, 1616.

HENRY PEPWELL,[1] Captain and Commander of the fleet, Thomas Kerridge, Thomas Barker, and Thomas Mettforde, prime, second and third merchants at Suratt, Edward Connock, William Methwold, Thomas Rastall, and George Pley, chief merchants of the said fleet, being assembled in court and consultation the day abovesaid, it was propounded by Mr. Thomas Kerridge as followeth:

That whereas the Honourable Company of Merchants our patrons have by these our ships, the Charles, Unicorn, James and Globe, sent divers sorts of commodities at present not vendible in these parts and in particular a quantity of 60 and more bales of cloth, that therefore we the servants of that honourable body might there consult and determine how and in what manner thereof to dispose, to the better satisfaction of our said masters and our own reputations; when then Mr. Kerridg withal propounded that an employment of some one of the smaller ships might be had into the parts of Persia with the cloth formerly

[1] It will be noticed that Pepwell did not sign the record of the proceedings. He took Roe's view of the matter (see the introduction), and opposed the proposals of Kerridge and Connock. He, however, could not overrule the factors, as he was 'expressly, by the Company's order, exempted from the authority of interposing himself in any their merchandising affairs' (Surat factors to Biddulph, 22 Oct. 1616, in *Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., pt. i.). This was due, of course, to the fact that Keeling, who had been given full powers of control for a period of five years, was still in the East.

mentioned, and such other goods as might in that country be found vendible.

To which effect he, the said Mr. Kerridge, produced the hopeful letters and advice lately received from the said parts of Persia directed to Mr. Wm. Edwards and Mr. Aldworth from Steele and Crowther, who by Captain Downton and that consultation [1] were thither sent to the purpose of that discovery, and the letters by these ships received from our honourable masters, whereby they both approve of their said endeavours and employment for the past, encouraging them for the future, and express their much desire for the effecting the same.

Then was debated whether a speedy determination of this said Persia employment were fitting, or whether more convenient that as yet it were deferred, in regard of a late letter written from the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Lord Ambassador, to the Commander of this fleet,[2] which letter, being by the said Captain or Commander there produced and read, for many pretended unanswerable reasons did earnestly persuade to desist.

After debatement and full consideration, it was generally agreed that this Persian expedition and employment should, notwithstanding his Lordship's letter, forthwith receive determination, and that for many reasons alleged, but principally for these here registered: that in regard his Lordship in other particulars of his said letter is far transported (in error of opinion) concerning merchandising and merchants' affairs in these parts, makes us assured that he is no less transported from and concerning this Persian employment, assuring ourselves it is the great devotion and zeal of his Lordship to the benefit of the Honourable Company (without relation had or at least to him known of the necessity of our trade) that hath and now doth altogether guide him both in the past and in this at present: but more especially it was thought expedient that in a matter of this consequence we the then assembled merchants (being in this place the prime and supposed ablest servants of our worthy masters) should be all present, which not without much inconvenience

[1] See vol. ii., p. 208.

[2] The letter is in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 118. For Roe's views, see his letter to Smythe on p. 245; and *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 330, 331.

could so fitly be done in after time, being some of us were to be dispersed into other factories for assistance of the common service, there to remain till the end of these our ships' despatches.

In consideration of the premisses it was generally concluded that the said Persian employment be with all convenient speed debated, consulted, and fully determined. Then was considered the hope and expectation of a yearly quantity of cloth and kerseys, of iron, lead, tin and other English commodities that will there vent according to Richard Steele's late advice,[1] the quantity of pepper and other spices and of China commodities from the parts of Bantam; the commodities of many sorts which this country and kingdom affords, the proceeds whereof invested in raw silks and other Persian commodities we hope will turn to the Company's liking, in regard the same is projected by commodities and not by ready money.

Then the ease and little charge of shipping to drive this trade was considered: as that one of our ships that yearly come to Suratt may in few weeks perform that voyage into Persia and here return, which is no more charge to our masters than if with the rest of the fleet she still rode here at anchor.

And for answer to any objection that may be alleged concerning the Portingales' attempts against us in that place: for the first and second year, until our designs for trade thither be better known, we hope that one ship may be sufficient for resistance to withstand the stratagems of the inhabitant [s] of Ormuse; and for the future (after discovery of the conveniency of those seas) the same fleet intended for this place by their timely departure from England, as we conceive, may supply both parts, whereof upon better consideration we shall advise the Company.

Likewise considering that the commodities of Bantam, etc., are here vendible, the yearly ship or ships of ours that come from thence may hence in few other days discharge the remainder of lading in Persia, where it is understood and advised that spices are a special commodity.

The port we aim at as most fitting by all the pilots' opinion of this country and of our English mariners is Jasques,[2] which lieth thirty leagues short of Ormuse, in the narrow of the

[1] See vol. iii., p. 176.

[2] Jáshak or Jask.

entrance. The port is said to be good and is a fitting place for an English fleet to curb the passage of the Portingales and revenge us of any wrong or distaste we should of them at any time receive.

The causes moving present trade and not defer it to after time are chiefly these: that Sir Robert Sherly is now absent,[1] who would either hinder us or to our great charge (as we suppose) lend us his furtherance: that the war between the Turk and the Persian having (as we understand) shut the intercourse of merchandise between the two countries, it is likely that both a dearth of cloth, wontedly brought thither from Turky, and the cheapness of silk thence formerly transported into Turky, must consequently follow, to the great expectation of the advancement as well in sales as in the employment of this intended small cauidall,[2] if we send it thither: then the consideration of this present quantity of cloth which neither will vent in this place, to the southward,[3] nor to our knowledge elsewhere, makes us embolden on this hopeful trade with so much the more resolution.

And howsoever the worthiest project and attempt is not altogether free of censure, yet this in itself, as it promiseth much hope of benefit, so doth it little danger, no loss at all; since the ship and merchants that shall go in this employment, if the port or people's acceptance there shall not answer their expectation, may here return to little damage; for the time of her lying here in port spends the like charge as it will in this her present employment.

The consideration of the premisses being duly considered to the Honourable Company's behoof, it was by us their servants generally concluded that this present Persian employment should be put in execution and some one of the smaller ships should with all convenient speed be despatched with such merchandise, merchants and commission as in some other consultation shall be thought fitting, not without consideration had to the weakening of our fleet, which here are to ride, in defence against the Portingale, to say, the destruction of the late carrack by us, other three

[1] Having started on a second mission to Europe. [2] Capital? (cp. vol. ii., p. 105).
[3] At Bantam, etc.

ships taken by Captain Keeleing,[1] four other Portingale galleons burnt and destroyed at Mallacca, together with their yet continuing war in that place with the King of Achine, the war at present between them and the Flemings at the Moluckus, besides none of their fleet is yet arrived out of Portingale: all this now lately happening assureth us free from their disturbance this year, or at least that our intended ship for Persia may here return before any their assault, which if they should dare to attempt they are not able, for many other reasons also debated, yet these many months anything effect; which with the former being considered, together with the strength of these other our ships here to remain, and these here as strong as any fleet heretofore, it may then with security be undertaken to let the fourth ship go on this present employment. And this now accordingly with general consent decreed and enacted; to the happy success whereof God of His great mercy grant and give His wonted divine blessing. Amen.

A second proposition at this assembly by Mr. Kerridge was also made concerning the landing of a fit proportion of moneys, whereby to make entrance into the speedy despatch of our intended investments for England and other parts according to the Company's order. It was hereupon determined that to serve the present occasion 10 chests, containing 40,000 dollars, should out of the whole fleet be forthwith landed, referring to unlade any greater sum till further necessity of the Company's business shall require it.

Edward Connok.	Tho. Mittford.	Tho. Kerridge.
Tho. Rastell.	Wm. Methwold.	Tho. Barker.
George Pley.		

A Consultation held in Suratt, the 6th October, 1616. Present: Tho. Kerridge, Tho. Barker and Tho. Mittford, prime, second, and third merchants of that place, and Edward Connok, Wm. Methwold, Tho. Rastell and George Pley, principal merchants of the fleet now in the road of Swally, viz.

Having in the last consultation (for divers and sundry good reasons then debated) with general voice agreed and concluded upon the present dispeeding of a ship with goods fitting for the

[1] See p. 133.

parts of Persia, it was now in this assembly propounded what sorts and quantities of merchandise should be thought convenient to be determined of for that place; whereupon, after diligent perusal of the sundry letters and advices at several times from Mr. Steele and others out of those parts received, comparing them with due care and consideration together, and good notice taken of the agreement of the weights, measures, etc., there with other places, it was generally agreed and concluded the sending these commodities following:

64 bales broadcloth, numbered according to invoice by the fleet received.

1 bale Devonshire kerseys, No. 75.

All the lead aboard the ship which shall be employed that way.

100 elephants' teeth.

6 chests quicksilver.

1 barrel vermilion.

4 chests knives, viz. No. 2, 3, 4, and 5, with 2 or 3 dozen of the best sorted.

10 prospective glasses.[1]

4 boxes spectacles.

7 chests drinking and loo[king] glasses, viz. No. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

½ dozen hats.

Certain pewter in the house.

Serabaffs, baftas, copper, steel, tin, iron and sugar: of each a small quantity for trial.

Sword blades } in the chests No. 1, 2, 3, and 4.
Fowling pieces }

20 case and 20 bottles strong waters.

2,000 d[ollars] in ready money.

Paper, quills and ink.

At the same consultation was propounded who and how many factors should be thought necessary for the managing of this Persian employment; whereupon Mr. Kerridge first put to this assembly's consideration the weight and great importance of this business, alleging that in regard this is the Company's first attempt yet undertaken by way of shipping, and that (notwith-

[1] Telescopes.

standing the King of Persia's firmaen) it will be most behoofful for the safer assurance of quiet and peaceable commerce in those parts, as well to treat with that prince for strong and ample confirmation of this former grant as also to capitulate with him of such conditions and privileges for our nation as in that behalf shall be held needful: that therefore this employment of necessity did require a sufficient and judicious man for prime; and thereupon he propounded to the consultations Mr. Edward Connok, as a man above any other factor in this kingdom most fit to supply that place, and that both in respect of his long experience and continuance in the parts of Turkey (the passage of businesses in which parts having some affinity with those of Persia) as also for that he best understandeth (through his employment in Turkey in matters of the like nature) how to bear himself in negotiating with princes of those countries. Whereunto was urged the Company's order for the sending him upon the ships for Bantam; but considering that the Company by their orders made it a thing indifferent whether he might go for Bantam or the Red Sea, which implied no necessary consequence of his going that way, and weighing the present necessity of the time, it was therefore with general consent decreed the said Mr. Edward Connok to be chief over all the factors and factories that shall be in the said Persian employment until the Company's pleasure be further known therein.

Then, for the better assurance of the well-ordering of the foresaid business, was propounded some sufficient men, in case of mortality, to second Mr. Connok; and to that purpose was first nominated Thomas Barker, who for that (besides his other abilities) he had attained to good experience in this country and consequently the fittest for that place and employment, he was generally approved of and decreed the second man to Mr. Connok in the foresaid business; next to him was ordained George Pley for third, and to succeed in second place if either of the other should miscarry; Edward Pettice, fourth; Wm. Tracy, fifth; and Robert Gipps for a linguist.

Tho. Mittford. Tho. Kerridge.
Wm. Methwold. Edward Connok.
Tho. Rastell. Tho. Barker.
George Pley.

A Consultation held the 7th October, 1616, in Suratt, by the aforesaid persons before mentioned, viz.

In regard this consultation had by their last decree (for the reasons there alleged) disposed of Thomas Barker for the Persian expedition and by that means left this factory unprovided of a sufficient accountant, therefore did Mr. Kerridge deliver to their considerations whom to be made choice of for the undertaking of that place and charge. Wm. Methwold[1] (for his sufficiency) was first spoken of, but consideration then had, not only to the present dangerous state of the wounded General,[2] whom should it please God to call to His mercy, Mr. Connock being absent and consequently no man by the Company's election (as we[3] supposed) to succeed in that command before him the said Methwold, as also having due regard to the fittingness and necessity that some one principal merchant should accompany the fleet, and some other supply Tho. Barker's late employment. The next propounded was Tho. Rastell, who for that he had formerly in the Company's service[4] given some testimony of his sufficiency in sundry their employments, more especially in the matter of knowledge in accounts, he was, without further debating, with general voice decreed and established to succeed in the place of the said Tho. Barker and to enjoy the same with the like privilege of preceding all other seconds in this kingdom as before on him was conferred.

A second proposition at this assembly was made concerning what sum of money was fit to be resolved of for Amadavaz and Agra, to the end that with all expedition investments from those places might forthwith be put in execution for the speedier despatch of the ships intended for England; whereupon was concluded that the said 40,000 [dollars ?] already landed should be disposed of as followeth, viz. to say, 36,000 d[ollars] to be sent and conveyed up to Amadavaz, with order to the factors there resident that out of that sum they should make over by way of

[1] Methwold was afterwards Deputy Governor of the Company from 1643 till his death in March 1653.

[2] Pepwell, who had been severely wounded in the fight with the carrack already mentioned.

[3] Was?

[4] Rastell had been employed for a short time in the Company's office at home (*Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513–1616, p. 347). For a notice of his subsequent career, see *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 491.

exchange to the factory at Agra 4,000 d[ollars]; and the said 4,000 d[ollars] here remaining to be converted into mahmoodes and hence remitted for the most advantage to Agra aforesaid.

It was further enacted the said moneys for Amadavaz to be sent up by a convoy of English, and to that end 25 good shot with a commander out of the fleet by Captain Pepwell's appointment should be made choice of, and that commander so appointed to be directed by Thomas Mittford and Wm. Methwold, who are both of them to accompany them up so far as Brothera,[1] there to expect Mr. Browne or some other from him, to whom they are to render up that charge and there forthwith to return back to Baroch, where they are to apply themselves to such directions as from hence they shall receive. Moreover Thomas Jones, Wm. Pollhill, and Nich. Howard are to be disposed of to several uses in this employment, viz: Tho. Jones appointed to take notice and keep account of all the expenses that shall be disbursed upon the way till their arrival in Amadavaz, where he is to be accountable unto Mr. John Browne for the same, and there (for assistance of the common business) he is by the said Mr. Browne to be directed; the like for Mr. Nich. Howard, who, principally for his language and some experience in this country, is to accompany the convoy for their better guide and assistance by the way, and with them to return to this factory again; and lastly that William Pollhill shall from Brothera return in company with Thomas Mittford and Wm. Methwold to Baroch, there to attend their order and directions in the Company's affairs.

At this present consultation was produced a letter from Nich. Bangham,[2] bearing date the [*blank*] in Brampoore, wherein he requireth should be sent him 100 maens lead and 20 maens quicksilver, where he assureth himself of present sales to good profit; according to which his advice the aforesaid commodities were concluded to be sent him with the first conveyance.

Then was determined a present to be given Abram Chan[3] the Governor, according to the accustomed manner in former times, the particulars whereof followeth, viz.:

3 vests of cloth; 2 damask pieces; 3 sword-blades; 1 case

[1] Baroda. [2] See vol. iii., p. 316.

[3] Ibráhím Khán, who had succeeded Zúlfikár Khán early in the year.

bottles strong waters; 1 loo [king] glass; 12 knives; 6 gurgoletts[1]; 12 glass plates; 6 wine glasses; 6 painted dishes.

Also a present determined to be given the Judge of the Alfandica, the particulars viz.:

2 vests cloth; 1 damask piece; 2 sword-blades; 6 knives; 1 bottle strong water; 1 prospective glass; 1 dozen spectacles; 6 gorgoletts; 6 wine glasses; 12 plates; 6 gilded dishes; 1 loo [king] glass gilded.

Tho. Mittforde. Tho. Kerridge.
Wm. Methwold. Edward Connok.
George Pley. Tho. Barker.
Tho. Rastell.

Endorsed: Resolutions concerning the Persian business and sending the James for Jasques. Held the 2 October, 1616, in Surratt. No. 9.

403

John Osterwick to Richard Wickham.

Laus Deo in Firando, the 7th of October, 1616.

LOVING friend Mr. Wickham, I commend me very kindly unto you, etc.

Your letter dated from Saccay the 5th of September last[2] came to my hands the 24th following, wherein you advise me to send away such commodities as per Tuisdon you had writ for; which before the receipt of this letter was performed, and therefore we shall have no occasion to make use of this barkmaster, whom you willed us to employ before another. And for your provision, I have, I think, fully satisfied you for a time, the Spanish wine and conserves excepted.

Concerning those two things which you forgot to bring to account in your first account of Edoe, I take especial notice

[1] A goglet, or long-necked earthenware vessel for holding water. Cp. Fryer's *New Account of East India:* 'Gurgulets and Jars, which are Vessels made of a porous kind of Earth.'

[2] See *Factory Records: China*, vol. xv., p. 46.

thereof; but you must understand that the perfecting of the Captain's accounts since his coming from England were not committed to my trust but only [to] Mr. Nealson; only he willed me by word and writing [to] help him in what I could, and therefore [ ] understand when he cometh to the discharg [ing of ?] you for your voyage, at which time I will do my [endeavour ?] to bring it to pass (if Mr. Nealson will give his consent thereunto) without the Captain's knowledge or before his coming.

Your letter enclosed maketh mention of the unlading and wants in the three bark [s and ?] junk, and of your advice in the im [baling ?] and weighing of any goods hereafter to [be sent ?]; of all which I take such notice as I hope [such ?] difference shall not be hereafter. Your jar of chawe[1] I have delivered to the Captain China, who returns you many thanks for the same; and for the rest, with the maccay,[2] they are all safe in the Captain's chamber till his return. The beam we have likewise received; and for those wants (?) as you have sent me down I will endeavour to charge you accordingly.

Your last letter came to my hands the fifth of this present per the hand of the messenger sent per Captain Cocks, wherein you give me to understand of the despatch of the junk two days before, which is not yet arrived at Firando nor by us heard of. It seemeth the wood beareth but a small price there and less or none at all here; for such as come hither come but to inquire by sending their hosts to inquire the prices and afterwards to the Hollanders, alleging in one place the Hollanders hath sold all at such a price, and at the Hollanders that the English hath sold so and so, always going about the bush but will not be caught in the snare. Cloth likewise beareth but a low price there; yet I am glad you have so good an occasion to truck for copper, which I hope will be better than money for them at Bantam. By the [Captain's letter ?][3] we understand that he cannot be despatched [owing to] the strictness against the padres for their banishment; but we understand per Captain Speck of another matter, which heretofore you partly touched, which is that no stranger shall have liberty to sell any merchan-

[1] Tea. [2] See p. 53. [3] See p. 171.

dise in those parts but where their principal abiding is, and their goods first landed there to sell them; which if it be true, as he is credibly informed per Signor Albertus, then the case will remain doubtful for a time, whether it will be the better or worse for us. One reason I have which makes me hope the best, which is, that when some merchants come and look upon cloth and that a price is set upon it, their answer is that they are afraid to buy any, because we have of the like sort at Meaco and those places and know not at what rates they are there sold, which (say they) if you would content yourselves to remain here, we could more boldly deal with you; which [ ] believe to be most true.

We have received letters from Edmond Sayres of his arrival [at] Shasma[1]; but with what danger and trouble, his own letter, enclosed within the Captain's written per Mr. Nelson, will certify you. Mr. Willmott[2] and Grosemandoro are both gone to Shasma about this business, but [could] not procure the King of Firando his letter [ ] in our behalf for the landing of our g[oods, as?] we were somewhat beholden unto him. The [King?] would detain us in hope four days and then at last to content ourselves with his brother's letter. It seemeth that either he or some of the horseriders of Firando have taken snuff because they have been denied trust for more than the Captain gave us order to trust them withal.

The junk is now a-trimming, about which Sokidian Dono taketh great pains. I hope the Captain with Mr. Addams will not be unmindful to procure the Emperor's goshon[3] for her departure, for it is pity she should lie idle a whole year.

In the interim of writing this letter I was sent for to the Captain China about a parcel of hogs which are to be bought; where amongst other speeches he inquired of the price of wood aloft, to the which I made answer accordingly; whereat he marvelled, but in conclusion he said he would himself give 24 mas per pecull [ ] assured of sale himself; which not so [suddenly? m]otioned by him but as suddenly taken and accepted [by me], with promise of present payment.

[1] See his letter in the Appendix.

[2] Edmund Wilmot, merchant of the *Advice* (see p. 132).

[3] Licence; see vol. iii., p. 335.

For Hollanders' wine, there is not any to be had, for Captain Speck himself cannot procure it but from hand to mouth. Yet if a man go aboard the old man will give them their heads full. For preserved nutmegs, the masters have not any, but I presume to furnish you with nutmeg water ere long of my own, distilled from Morrafaccoe.[1] Sugar I have procured from Langasaque, which by the next fit conveyance I will send you; as also of slippers, which are not in Firando to be had, neither yet at Langasaque till the great ship be gone from Shasma.

I pray you satisfy me concerning the nails sent down, for the which Skeets paid 50 taies, as I writ unto you per Toistie. Also I desire you to send me down a fair girdle with the skrittoryes and siffra[2] formerly written for. I pray you to pardon me if I have been slack in performing your request for provisions, for I protest I had never less time in my life, being troubled with so many idle business about the ships that I shall be ashamed of myself at the return of the Captain that I have done no more than I have. I would to God this voyage could have been otherwise undertaken [ ] himself [ ] businesses [ ] been prevented.

I pray you desire Captain [Cocks ?] to pardon my not writing to him in particular, to whom I remember my duty, knowing Mr. Nelson hath satisfied him of all matters. The like to Mr. Eaton with hearty commendations. Wishing a speedy return with prosperous success, I [end], resting

Your loving friend,

John Osterwick.

For your p[ills ?] you write of, the chirurgeons will furnish you; but this conveyance of the Hollanders will not be convenient.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Richard Wickham, English merchant, at Meaco or elsewhere, dd. these.

[1] A kind of spirit. [2] See p. 178.

404

Sir Thomas Roe to the factors at Surat.[1]

Adsm [ere], 15th of October, 1616.

I HAVE received both your first and second advice[2] of the ships' arrival (God's name be ever blessed); by a pattamar from Isaph Beage, the Shawbandar, one of his, offering all service, which by his own I have answered.

In answer of yours, I will procure Hoja Nassan's letter to his officer and dispeed it to Amadavaz, whither Mochrebchan is gone Governor, with many protestations and vows of friendship, to which his actions here have always corresponded. I have written to Mahobet Chan once more. His professions are the same; if you send but five words of the ill success of his favours it will extremely quicken him. Concerning the river of Baroch, you have fully satisfied me and therein done good service; for else through false hope we might have run into an error, the repentance whereof would have been shameful.[3]

The misconstruction you conceive I made of your letters caused me give no other censure of your opinions than the English gave. I am very fully satisfied in all, and in your respect of me; and so I am content without the glory of vanquishing to let fall all controversy and disputes. But seeing you insist a little upon your opinion that your former and later advice differed not, I must tell you no construction can reconcile them. Precedents of our nation there is none; nor of the Portugalls equal to my quality. They will do nothing but by compulsion;

[1] There is a copy of this letter in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 126, containing a few unimportant variations.

[2] See Surat Letterbook, under date of 23 and 26 September (*Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., pt. i., ff. 84, 87). The ships are, of course, Pepwell's fleet from England.

[3] This paragraph is in answer to the earlier of the two letters, in which Kerridge narrated his journey to Broach, his unsatisfactory negotiations with the 'customer,' Khoja Názir's deputy, and his examination of the river, in view of the proposed transfer of the English headquarters to that place (see *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 199). He found the anchorage very shallow and treacherous, and much exposed to unfavourable winds, while the surrounding country was poor and sparsely inhabited. This report satisfied Roe that the change was impracticable.

so I will not be the subject practised upon. They have a spleen as well as other nations. Let this satisfy; I know better ways and more honourable.

Concerning Mr. Crowder, I will renew my desire, as all I have to say in that matter, that as he lost his respect by his absence in the Company's service, wherein his peril and travel did rather merit to raise him than to cast him backward, and wherein for anything I see he performed his commission, and since hath not done contrary nor neglected any part of his duty, the account and resolution of his employment appertaining to me only, who am the King's Ambassador and have His Majesty's commission to treat and conclude with any prince neighbouring, where I shall think fit, and on such terms as in my judgment conduce to the good of our nation: therefore I only commend him at least to be restored to the same degree and rank in the way of preferment as he was placed in by the Company's commission, below which he hath suffered himself to be employed in their service six months. This is but justice.[1]

Your accounts with the Customer I hope are finished, for that I sent a patmar on the 12th September with the Prince's firmaen and order for the despatch and for taking the cloth to clear customs.

With the abuse of the Customer I have acquainted Azul Chan.[2] He desired me to forbear complaint for once. Let him know from me in express terms that if he provoke me in the least I will anger him. My credit is sufficient here to procure his disgrace. Concerning any force on your parts, my advice is that you avoid all occasion and let the wrongs offered you be apparent. For your redress, first fly to justice and not to blows, but in your own defence, whereto being enforced, repay it like Englishmen. I will stand by you and die in the cause. Continue

[1] Cp. the Surat letter to Roe, May 26, 1616 (No. iii. of the Appendix). Crowder, or Crouther, was the factor who, as mentioned before, accompanied Steel on his mission to Persia. He had incurred the displeasure of his superiors at Surat, principally because, on his return to India, he had handed over his papers to Roe (see Appendix, No. vi.), whose jurisdiction in this matter they disputed. He seems to have died at Burhánpur some time in 1617. Roe describes him as 'a gentle, quiet, and sufficient fellow.'

[2] The copy has 'Asaph Chan,' but this is probably incorrect. 'Azul Chan' is Afzal Khán, Prince Khurram's *diwán*.

the favour of the Governor; for though he be gentle in execution, yet, being just in his heart, his testimony will much avail you. Let him know I lately and publicly recommended his honesty to the Prince, and it was well received. His letters I answered by the last.

Concerning the Hollanders,[1] I have received instruction from England how to deal; not by force, as you intended. I will not omit my duty in it.

Our broker here I will order as I see cause. Necessity enforceth me to bear. He cares not to be turned off; he is lazy and offers voluntary to quit our business; but we cannot want him.

The end with Zulpheckcar [c] on[2] and the remainder of money (you having had order for 9,000 ma.), being 8,000, will be well paid, whensoever we can receive a certificate how much there is due or received from others at Suratt charged with it; which Azeul Chan hath written for and given me his word for the clearing it upon the first information.

When I see your authority to dispose and receive the money coming to private men, I will ordain a portion for them, according to my discretion. I will have no other a sharer of my labours.

I hope the receipt of my last hath hastened away the presents and the King's letters, the omitting whereof in the Company is an extreme error. The firmaen was sufficient with the explanation made by Azul Chan to give me content, and I doubt not for your business; which because I suppose it is long since come to you, and that you are in some forwardness, I have not stayed this bearer for procurement of another.

But last night I was with the King to advertise him of the arrival of our fleet, and did acquaint him with the fight and victory over our enemies, wherein he seemed to rejoice. He used me very graciously, but after the manner was inquisitive what presents, especially after velvets, satins or good stuffs. He seemed content with my relation, but very eager of them. I took occasion to require his letter for them and other such clauses as was needful. He answered he had entrusted that place to his

[1] The Dutch ship recently arrived at Surat.
[2] Zúlfikár Khán.

son and did not meddle: but he sent for him and gave him a most strict charge, first, that whatsoever I would have come up either for himself or any other) as presents, should be passed without search and come to my hands untouched and without custom: that he should command all his officers to do us no wrong, to despatch our business fairly; and in conclusion, that whatsoever I should require of him, that he should grant it, for that so it was his pleasure; which the Prince there publicly promised me, and I will pursue with all expedition. Let this passage be made known to the Governor and other officers and no time be lost to dispeed those particulars I have here enclosed; and though they may seem much out of so small a stock (which is my misfortune), yet I will so husband them as they shall give good content. All I mention I will not give away; yet I would receive them under my protection and will answer them to the Company; whereof the part of most value shall be sold to the King and Prince for their profit; but they desire to see all together, especially the velvets. The dogs are inquired after and many other things not in the fleet. My last will inform you more at large. When I receive and deliver the presents I will move the dead privileges. I must only proceed in the strength of them.

I have not heard one word from Mr. Leeske, for which I am both sorry and wonder. I pray commend me to him. I would have been glad of him; but if it stand not with his liking, I will wish him better fortune. Your offer of another minister is most acceptable, and I give you many thanks. He shall be to me extremely welcome, and I will so respect and use him as sent me from God.[1]

[1] Roe's chaplain, the Rev. John Hall, had died on the 19th August, and he was desirous that Mr. Lescke (see p. 82) should come up to take his place. This, however, was not agreeable to the reverend gentleman, and the factors thereupon proposed the appointment of one of the two young ministers who had arrived with Pepwell's ships. 'The graver of them,' said Kerridge, 'about 25 years of age, is called Edward Terry; was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. He is very desirous to stay in the country, and . . . . would willingly embrace your Lordship's service. The General hath spoken to me in his behalf and given him fair commendations.' Terry was accordingly sent up to the ambassador, and remained with him during the rest of his stay in India. They returned to England together, where Terry afterwards embodied his experiences in his well-known *Voyage to East India*.

You cannot find in all my letters that I ever touched your loyalty to the Company's service; somewhat your affection to cross me; it is past and let it die and vanish as air. I esteem you all as my friends and would merit no other from you. If I am sharp in reprehension, it is my nature; in effect and actions you may find me not only gentle but very ready to do you any courtesy and to give good testimony of your services; which that I may do with the safer conscience I write my mind and lay up no malice. In haste I end, but with truth that I am

Your assured friend,

Tho. Roe.

Since the finishing of this letter I received a message from the Prince, witnessed by two letters from the Judge of the Custom House, that our people are unruly ashore; that they bring goods by force to their house in spite of him, and many such.[1] This is the abuse of private men and must be ordered. My last hath given directions that all for me be brought at once under that title, all other sent to the Governor to be offered to be sold for the Prince. What is taken there is ready money ordered for; what is refused is after free. Our own disorders cause all our trouble, and make me weary. The General should suffer none to come ashore unsearched.

I hear of many young gentlemen come. The Company hath advised me to warn you to lend them no money. The fewer are left here the better. Their best will be but disorder and procure my trouble to release them. I wonder at so much easiness to agree to so great an inconvenience.

A Note of such things as I desire for Presents and to content the King and Prince; part whereof shall be sold as I find fitting; which I desire may be well packed, and without search (according to the Prince's order) may be sent up to me, for which no custom is to be demanded. They shall all pass under mine name.

First, out of the general invoice.

Four dozen of knives, so they be large and fair wrought with amber, coral, gold or silver or inlaid with glass.

[1] See *The Embassy*, p. 289.

The figure of the lion, the buck, the greyhound, the bull, the horse, the talbot[1]; or, if you have no use of them, you may send all mentioned in yours, provided they be well formed, good shapes and undefaced. Such toys will please well for ordinary turns, and the remainder will sell.

The four pieces of velvets and satins, if they be good, and rich and fresh colours. Blue is not esteemed. The King is very desirous of these and I have promised the sight of them. They shall not be given but sold; therefore they may pass to me with presents, as sent to me for my use. They are fit for no other place, and the merchants here are of the same opinion.

Six fowling-pieces, if they be fair; else none.

Some five or six branches of polished coral of the largest, to lie by upon small occasions. Such I have wanted all the last year.

Some of the fairest amber and coral beads.

From among the presents.

Both the crystal boxes; for one the King must needs have, another Normall,[2] if they be fair. The neglect of her last year I have felt heavily.

The fairest embroidered sweetbag, and that of 4 lbs., with a quantity fit of powder.

Some 4 lbs. spare powder.

The embroidered folding case.

The embroidered pillow 27.[3]

The saddle for the Prince.

The sword " " "

The picture of Venus and a Satyr,[4] if it be excellent work. The price is great; but if the art answer it not, it is here despised.

[1] A species of dog noted for quickness of scent. These carved figures had apparently been sent in response to Downton's requisition of 1614 (see vol. ii., p. 173). Roe says they were 'very ridiculous and ill-shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other than a lump of wood.' Had it rested with him, the Mogul would not have seen them; but they were seized with the rest of the presents, and thus came into the possession of the King. He expressed some astonishment that such things should have been sent, asking the ambassador: 'Did you think in England that a horse and a bull was strange to me?' (*The Embassy*, p. 388).

[2] Núr Mahál.

[3] Probably this was the number in the invoice.

[4] Roe says that Jahángír was rather mystified by this picture, but to all appearance 'he understood the moral to be a scorn of Asiatics, whom the naked satyr

The picture of the fair lady; the King's picture; the box of hats.

Any other toy rare and unseen to be found of small price in the fleet, according to my last note. Especially aligant for the King. These all I expressly require; for which I will answer to the Company.

My judgment is that whatsoever remains in the note that I have not chosen, of the like nature, as all the embroidered glasses, sweetbags, and others, all the pictures, will sell best here of any part in the world; therefore what the General shall not use of necessity I wish may be sent under the same colour. I will see them converted to the Company's profit. For cases of strong waters I will give no advice; I shall use little; perhaps 20 may in time sell. The unicorn's horn I will keep as a secret, and first feel the Prince whether he will buy it, and accordingly advise in my next.[1]

Remember to advise that in the presents to be sent from England they be fitted of small bulk. It easeth much of carriage and passeth unregarded. Great bulk makes great show. The like in goods, such as drinking glasses.[2]

Endorsed: A copy of a letter to Mr. Kerridge and his assistants at Suratt, dated October 15, 1616. With a note of such things as are to be sent up to court with the presents.

represented and was of the same complexion and not unlike; who being held by Venus, a white woman, by the nose, it seemed that she led him captive' (*The Embassy*, p. 387).

[1] For this 'unicorn's horn,' see *The Embassy*, p. 290.

[2] This paragraph is not in the copy in *Addl. MS.* 6115.

405

John Browne to John Jourdain at Bantam.[1]

Laus Deo in Pattanya, the 24th of October, 1616.

[WORSHIPFUL ?], My respective love remembered. Since the departure of Mr. Gourny with the ship [Advice ? an] d the junk Pilgrim,[2] here hath not been any passage for Bantam whereby I might have [sent ?] letters till this present, being by this Dutch ship bound for Bantam. Mr. Jonson, the [gener] al here in Pattanya, have promised me it shall be delivered, but I am jealous of their [ ] in their promise, in regard the Dutch had letters sent from Bantam in the Solomon but [were not ?] delivered unto him but detained, and again he told me that Mr. Gourny at [his departure ?] from Pattany to Bantam denied him the carrying of a letter; wherefore I pray let [me entreat ?] you to excuse my not writing at large or sending that which I ought to send, [hop] ing, if it please God, ere it be long to see a ship in Pattany Road with your order for the disposing of all things.

I do hereinclosed send two letters received from Japonn from Mr. Coxe, the one to the President, the other to Mr. Lucas Annthones.[3]

The 12th of May, 1616, it pleased God to take Mr. Robert Larkin out of this world, being by God's will and pleasure visited with a burning fever some eight days, but not extreme till the day before his death; till which time he would neither be let blood nor take anything for the recovery of his health, still thinking to wear it away, till the morning before he died; then he was let blood but would not bleed. I spake to him to make his will and to dispose of his estate which God had blessed him withal; but he would not hear of any such talk, neither in all his sickness did I once hear him speak or name any friend he had, either concerning his estate or otherwise. So upon Saturday at night, about 12 o'clock in the night, he departed this life; and

[1] With this letter should be compared one from the same writer to the English chief at Jambi in Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS*. 2086, f. 18. It has no date, but was evidently written at about the same time as the above, and gives much the same account of affairs at Patani and Siam. It is endorsed as received on January 29, 1616 [1617].

[2] See pp. 42, 43.

[3] See p. 258.

upon Sunday I put his body in the ground in the best manner I could, with our poor household and with the Dutch. I thank them who did accompany him to his grave. Monday in the morning with the rest of the English in the house I took an inventory of all such things as he had in custody or keeping, in the presence of Christopher Sacker and George Busbridg. The copy thereof I could wish you had; but for sending by this ship I crave pardon, for I will not meddle with any of his till such time as you please to send some order, thinking he will not prove a man of that [ ] and I have heard him reported to be of when I was in Bantam.

The 20th of May I received letters from Siam from Mr. Farye[1] and 700 rials of eight and 221 rials of molten silver of Japonn (as per his invoices maketh mention) in a small chest, the which as yet I have not opened. He doth write that he have fitted a cargazon for Camboja and sent it in the charge of Mr. George Savidge and Mr. Facey.[2] At his departure from Pattanya for Syam he writeth that he left a fardle of goods, No. M, behind him in the ship Advice, wherein is 4 corge, 9 pieces of allejayes of 16 rials the corge, and one corge of silcin (?) allijas at 30 rials per corge, 3 pieces allijayes 5 rials per corge, and 2 duttyes, being the wrappers; the which fardle the purser have a discharge for under Mr. Fary's hand.

The 19th of August came a junk of Burnewe[3] into Pattanya road, having 140 men in her, whereof most being slaves taken at sea, both Chaynnemen and Javaes; amongst whom there was two Chaynemen, as they say, were employed by the English in Bantam for Japparra, having delivered them, to make sale thereof, 80 corge of cloth; the one being an old man with a long white beard (he saith his name is Lackesheatt; he had delivered him 70 corge of cloth), the other a tall young man, who had delivered him 10 corge, the which he left at home with his wife; his name is Lympcoe. The old man for his 70 corge had made sale, some for money and some for truck of mace and other commodities; and being bound for Bantam was taken by the Burnewemen and so sent to Pattanya, with some of his goods in the same junk, being 5 bahars mace and in rials 130, with other commodities.

[1] Cp. p. 107. [2] See p. 88. [3] Borneo.

When it was told me I went to the Manderes[1] and told them that the Burnewe junk had both men and goods belonging to the English, therefore I desired justice at their hands. So the Burnewemen and the Chaynemen being sent for to come before the Manderes, the Chaynemen did there justify the taking of them and their goods, so they could not deny the same, saying it was done by other junks and that they were sent by the King. So the Manderes told me it was done in another country, so that they could not do anything in the matter. I told them again that the goods were now in their custody and if they would not deliver me them I would be paid at their hands when a ship came. They made answer again, if a ship came before she went we should [recover our goods ?] perforce, or else to take her and men and goods and pay ourselves. So with [much trouble I got one ?] man released and the other is in Pattany with one of Inrytmyoung (?) [ ] for 19 rials.

The 18th September, 1616, I bought a junk, being of the burden [of about 70 coyne[2]], being strong and new, never making but one voyage betwixt Le[gore ? I paid ?] for the junk 10 ta. 2 ma. 0 cop., being in rials 128. The reason which [made me buy ?] this junk was in regard there was certain moneys lying by [us and no likelihood of ?] employment for the same this six months, if then ; and withal not hav[ing] so that we live altogether upon the expense without any profit to the [Right Honourable and ?] Right Worshipful Company our masters. And being credibly informed that Negeere Ind [ ][3] is a place of much profit, I have fitted the junk for that place with a cargazon fit for the country, the invoice whereof I do send you, not doubting but with God's grace and assistance but to have her return again in March with 200 bahares pepper ; and then she will be a fit junk to go for Siam and Camboja. The goods I send in charge of Christopher Sacker, who goeth along with them ; I have found him both willing and true in all things since I knew him.

The 7th of October came a Dutchman from Siam, who brought word that Mr. Benjamin Farye departed this life the

[1] Mandarins. [2] Supplied from *Egerton MS*. 2086.

[3] 'Negerre Indergery' (*ibid.*). Indragiri is a state on the N.E. side of Sumatra, between Jambi and Kampar.

20th of August,[1] being poisoned, and as they think by the Portingalles; who, finding himself not like to live, sent for the chief of the Dutch and did entreat them after his death to take an inventory of all such goods as were in the house, being fearful of the carriage of matters after his death, the which they promised him to perform; making his will in perfect memory, being sick but four days. So when he was dead the Dutch came to the English house and did accompany him to his grave; and after his burial, according to his request and their promise, they desired to see his will and to take notice of all such goods as were in the house, but Mr. John Johnson, who was Mr. Farye's second [ ] told them that they should [ ] will nor yet take any notice of any goods in the house. And since Mr. Farye's death Mr. Jonsonn doth give entertainment to the Portingalles, not unto men of any credit but to the worst and most lewdest livers in Siam, to the discredit of the house and shame to our nation. For every day there do resort to the house 30 Portingalles, and 20 when there is least, abusing themselves with drink and making all things in the house common to the Portingalles. Mr. Jonson, chief for the Dutch in Pattanya, told me this, with protestations of grief that things should be so carried as they did daily see in a short space after Mr. Farye's death. The Dutchman that brought this news at his [coming] away went to Mr. Jonson at the English house for a letter, but found him not fit to make him any answer. Letters I have not received any, so that which I write I was told by the Dutch; who, if you please to send to Mr. Mathias, who cometh in the ship, he will speak as much. For my own part I am left in the like manner as Mr. Jonson is, without a principal, and stand till further experience to be censured of by others' report.

The 11th of September the four Chaynnemen that went in the junk Pilgrim for Bantam returned to Pattanya, but brought no letters with them from anyone in Bantam, which made me much to marvel. Many things they told me, but not any one word the which I thought I might give any credit thereunto. They

[1] This date appears to be wrong, for in a later letter from Siam itself it is distinctly stated that Farie died on the 21st September (the *Calendar* reads 11th, but this is a mistake).

reported that Mr. Gourny did use them unkindly and would have had them to go in the ship Advice for the Coast, but they, being desirous to come for their country, were not willing but demanded their wages of Mr. Gourny, who told them that they should come for their money to Pattanya; so they said they entreated his letter, and he bade them stay, but delivered them none. So upon security I have paid them five month wages apiece, according to the agreement when they were shipped, they being upon the voyage seven month. So it resteth to be judged of when a ship cometh, whether to have more or to return the overplus again which they have received more than their due.

[ ] August the old Queen died and the young Queen doth reign in her place. So the [King of?] Pollambam[1] sent ambassadors to the Queen; and by whom he sent word both to the Dutch and [English?] to entreat them to come and trade in his country. The last year when the Advice and junk [came?] for Bantam there was a junk of Pollambam in Pattanya bound for Pollamban, to whom Mr. [Gourny?] gave a small English flag, because he promised to keep company with them. So the Nockeda[2] [told the?] King how the English did use him kindly and gave him the flag. So the King did take the [flag?] and sent word and doth promise that if the English will come and trade or build a godown (?) [in his country?] they shall pay no duties at all. There is pepper to be had to lade two ships in [ ] the bahare, and benjamin such as comes from Achine great quantity, with wax cheap, [and?] all kind of victuals cheap. He doth entreat you that when any ships come through the straits that you would be pleased to send and make trial of his love and promise.

The goods that are in the godowne at this present are these as followeth: 25 bahars pepper and 5 pecull 30 cattes of mace and 3 pecull wax and 27 pecull of lignum aloes of Cutcheinchenn[3] of 3 sorts; all amounteth to the sum of 1,200 rials or thereabouts; hoping at the return of the Camboja junk, the which will be in November, to have some quantity of benjamin for cloth thither sent, and red yarn.

I pray hold me excused in not sending a journal of what hath

[1] Palembang, in Sumatra. [2] Master. [3] Cochin China.

passed since Mr. Gournye's departure from Pattany. What hath passed since in my charge I could send; but for Mr. Larkin's business, and what I found under his charge, I have not meddled with; and to send the one without the other I cannot. The sorts of cloth which are here most vendible and in most request I know you have been informed in a better manner than my experience can write of; for since my being in this place there have been little cloth to make sale of. The coarse cloth that was landed out of the ship Advice was sold presently, and since much inquiring for the like.

The 17th of October the small ship Jaccatra arrived in Pattany road from Japonne; by whom I received a letter and three more enclosed, directed to Your Worship.[1] Other news the letter I received maketh no mention of, but only to convey these letters enclosed.

[ ] so that I cannot write anything of certain from thence; but there is a junk or two coming, by whom I sent cloth, hoping by them to receive letters. They report that pepper is very dear at Camboja and at this present not any to be bought for money. That junk that cometh first to Camboja the next year will make a good voyage in carrying pepper.

Thus ceasing (?) your further trouble, entreating pardon for what is amiss, I commit you to the gracious preservation of the Almighty, and ever rest

Yours to command,

John Browne.

Addressed: To the Worshipful Captain John Jourden, Principal Agent for the Right Honourable English Company in the East Indya, this dd. in Bantam.

Endorsed: Received this letter the first December, 1616, from Patanny. Concerning the death of Robert Larkin, and the abuses of John Jonson and Richard Pitt at Siam after the death of Benjamin Fairie.

[1] See p. 181.

406

The true copy of a Commission for a v[oyage to] Banda, set forth at Bantam the 29th of October, 1616, [ ] Swan and Defence.

WHEREAS the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful our employers [have] at their great cost sent many ships into these parts and committed the charge thereof in the way of employment unto our disposings, it doth likewise import us, their substitutes, to extend our uttermost care and endeavour in the well-ordering of their affairs. It is therefore upon good consideration ordained, and by court and council resolved, as a course above all other at present most fitting, that the Swan, John Davey[1] master, and the Defence, John Hinsley[2] master, are by God His assistance to proceed upon a voyage for Banda; in and over which ships goeth for commander and cape merchant Nathaniel Courthoopp, and for his seconds and assistants, viz.: in the Swan (who is to carry the flag in the maintop) Thomas Spurwaye, and in the Defence (who is to carry the flag in the foretop) Saphony Cossucke, chief factor, and Richard Huntt his second. And are to follow these directions following:

1. Imprimis, You are in all sea causes to do nothing without the counsel of your masters, John Davey and John Hinsley: and in case of mortality, such as shall succeed them. And for your council of war, merchandise and other occurrences ashore, I do appoint Thomas Spurwaie, Saphony Cossuck and Richard Huntt, who are according to their knowledge and ability to advise and assist you.

2. From hence you are to go together in company and to direct you[r cour]se for Sambopa in the country of Mocassor, there to take in all such rice as the factor shall have in readiness and what [more he?] shall conveniently get together within the number of days, always provided that it exceed not the quantity of one hundred (?) quoynes.[3]

You are likewise to take in all such moneys, either gold or silver, as is there in readiness or may be had in readiness before

[1] John Davis of Limehouse, who is so often confounded with his more celebrated namesake.

[2] See p. 116.

[3] See vol. iii., p. 320.

your departure thence, the factor reserving thereout so much as may be thought fitting to defray house expenses. And for that this factory of Bantam cannot furnish you with a cargazon neither in quantity nor quality as Banda will require if you settle a factory there, you are to supply your wants out of Sambopa factory, where there lieth much cloth of Cambaia and Cormandell for Banda (goods thought there unvendible). And if you did take it all from thence (only as much as may be thought fitting to keep stroke till the next supply, which will be upon the arrival of the Solomon, to be there at the farthest in April next) you cannot in my opinion do better. For the quantity to keep stroke until such a time advise with the factor there. And having taken in all your rice, clothing and moneys (which I pray you endeavour with all possible haste, for time will be precious) you are to depart thence and to proceed directly for the islands of Banda, and first as they lie in order for Pollorone, who above the rest expect your coming and will be ready to receive you. There is, as I have been given to understand, a good road for one ship, if not both of your ships; but thereof you shall know the certainty by the people of the island, and by Mr. Hance, the barber,[1] whom you are to take in at Sambopa alongst with you. But not finding a road fitting for both at Pollorone, then you are by council to order whither the one shall go to ride in safety and which of them it shall be.

Two years past, Mr. Ball being at Lantorre, the people told him of a good road about that island during the westerly monson. Inquire thereafter, and if any such be, make use thereof, according to time and occasion. At your arrival at Pollorone show yourselves courteous and affable; for they are a peevish, perverse, diffident and perfidious people and apt to take disgust upon small occasions, and are, being moved, more cumbersome than wasps. Their councils are public, their resolutions tedious, and their dispositions quick to change.

3. It doth therefore behove you to be wary and careful and to order your business according to time and occasion, and let your opinion of them be according to their merits, and your confidence

[1] This appears to be the German mentioned in a later letter from Sambopa, 'who promised to go with David to Banda, but turned Moor, and ran to the King of Gooa's protection' (*Cal. S. P.: East Indies*, 1617–21, p. 166).

such as you deceive not yourselves; for they are a people that will say anything to advantage themselves. Being entered parley with them learn to know the truth of their estates: the conditions of their last entreaty and agreement with the Flemings: their intents towards them, and their inclinations towards us: the manner of their surrender of Pollaway and Pollorone the last year to the English: and likewise what quantity of nuts and mace is and will be in readiness if you should stay till August next. If you find their conditions of peace and trade with the Flemings violated, and their desires embrace us as friends in the way of commerce and as fellow-subjects to our Sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, set them to ratify under their hands and seals the former surrender, if lawfully made; if not, then to make a new surrender of all or part of such islands as are yet under their own commands and at their own dispose, leaving out those where the Flemings are possessed and have command. And for acknowledgment of our King's sovereignty and their subjection, let it be inserted in writing, but not without their consents.

That[1] they are to give every harvest some petty ma[tter ?], as the branch of a nutmeg tree with the fruit upon it, or some other matter as you and they shall agree. For the [rest ?] of the conditions, let them be as we have formerly offered them; that is, to remain by their laws and religion, they giving affiance under their hands to sell their spices and fruits of the country to none but English, which [is as] much as in reason they can desire.

4. As concerning commerce, which is the only all we shoot (?) at, so let the principal of your care be to order the same. If they be willing to have you amongst them, they will either [give ?] you a house ready built or a place to build upon to your desire; which being finished, you may land your goods and [dispose of ?] according to time. If they have not in spices at present to give you content for your rice, give them credit to pay the next harvest; but for other your goods which will not spoil so much in keeping, trust out as little as you may; and that little let it be to principal men, such as of whom you may rely of payment, the number whereof are not many, as Hance can assure you. And let it be

[1] Probably this paragraph should form part of the preceding.

amongst the rest of your cares, whatsoever troubles arise, that you put not your goods in the forts, castles or houses of the Bandaneses (as formerly hath been) lest you never see them again; for believe me, and you shall find it, that they will be more secure in your hands than theirs.

5. If in regard of the Flemings' threats they put doubt to their safety and be desirous to have some ordnance landed for their defence, you may consent for two sakers and some small shot with powder and shot and necessaries thereunto, provided that they allot you a place where to mount them, and that you may be masters and commanders of the place and ordnance. And for men to manage the same, it is referred to the consideration of you and your council in this cause, consisting of merchants and masters of ships.

6. Being seated upon the island upon good terms and conditions, certify unto the Flemings by letters, they,[1] pretending ignorance, [invade?] you as they did [Pollaway?], the country of the English, and by that means justly incur the displeasure of His Majesty of England, which I presume they will be loth to enjoy. But in case they shall in hostile manner, or otherwise, injuriously offer violence to the countries of our sovereign lord the King, or to the ships, goods or persons of his subjects, you are to the utmost of your power, even to the loss of lives and goods, to make good the same.

7. Enterprise nothing upon Pollaway, although you find the surrender to be good, but refer it to the increase of our forces and further order. Only you may, according to occurrence of time and as occasion shall be given, advise them [2] that they are entered into possession of the King's right, and that if they resign it not with quietness, they will be forced thereunto, in despite of their Indian forces.

8. You are likewise to sound the minds of the inhabitants of Pollalantorr[3] and Rossinginge. If you find them willing, as the necessity of the wars may haply constrain them, to surrender the islands upon like conditions as those of Pollaway and Pollorone have done, accept thereof and confirm by writing under their hands and seals.

[1] Probably we should read 'lest they.' [2] The Dutch. [3] Lontor, or Great Banda.

9. Having set all things in order so far as you may very well do during the westerly monson, and having gotten one ship's lading, or so much as the country will afford by the fine of May, you may, if you shall find it so convenient by council, leave one of the ships there to follow the business in Banda, and with the other ship, which is all or part laden, to return with Mr. Muschampp to Sambopa in the country of Moccasor, where the pinnace will be ready to attend with supplies for the factories of Sambopa, Benjermassine and Sucadania. George Muschampp by order of council is to second you in Sucadania; and Saphony Cozock is to take, upon his return from Banda, the place of principal factor in Sambopa, and Kellome that is now there to be his second. Likewise, if before your coming from Banda you have not placed Richard Huntt chief factor upon Pollorone, and Thomas Ford his second, that you leave order that it may be done after your coming away.

10. Being returned to Mocassor, you are to land out of the pinnace all such goods as shall be appointed for that place (if before your coming thither they be not landed) and to give order to the ship that she spend the time either there or at Japparra until September, and as then to repair towards Bantam, by the way putting into Jacquatrey and there to stay until further order.

11. From Sambopa you are with what s[peed you] may to direct your course in the pinnace for Benjermasin, and there to put ashore into that factory the goods appo[inted] for that place, and to take into the pinnace all such goods, diamonds, bezoars and gold as the factory have [in rea]diness to return; where having ended your business, you are to repair to Sucadanya, there to take the place of chief factor; and Mr. Cockin,[1] having surrendered his charge, to take his passage for Bantam with Mr. Greet. You are here to remember that the return of Benjarmasin (gold excepted, which you are to employ in diamonds) is to be sent in the pinnace for Bantam.

12. If you come away with one ship from Banda before it be thought the other shall budge, then is Mr. Spurwaie to remove into the ship that stays, to be chief factor; and all business being there ended, to return in the ship with Saphoney Cozock to

[1] Cokayne.

Moccassor, where Saphone is to take the place of chief factor there to remain, and Kellom Throgmorton, now chief in that place, to second him; but in case he resenteth to be his second, having been once chief there, then are you to make choice of some other out of the ship to second him, and to bring him in the ship for Bantam. Likewise, if there be any return provided, to put it aboard of the ship that shall of the two last [tou] ch there, with order to repair to Bantam, provided that she be not dispeeded to be here before the [ ] September, but rather than to come sooner, to spend the time by the way at Japparra, a good place of refreshment.

In Bantam, the 29th of October, 1616.

Jno. Jourdayn. George Ball.
George Barklie. Ralph Coppindall.

Endorsed: A true copy of a commission received at Bantam for a voyage to Banda, 1616. *And in another hand:* Commission given at Banda unto the Swan and Defence unto Banda, 1616.

407

A Commission or Instruction for our loving friends Edward Connock, chief, Tho. Barker, George Pley, Edward Pettus, Wm. Tracy, and Mathew Pepwell, in the voyage and employments by God's grace intended for Persia. [November, 1616.][1]

1. FIRST, according to the decrees and determinations of two general consultations[2] held aboard the ship Charles in the road of Swally and here in Suratt, the 2nd and 6th October, 1616, present Thomas Kerridge, Edward Connok, Tho. Barker, Tho. Mittford, Tho.

[1] As the endorsement shows, this is merely a copy, sent overland to the Company by the factors in Persia. There is a second copy in the Surat Letter-book (*Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., pt. i., f. 108). Neither is dated. In the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, a conjectural date of November 6 is assigned; but it will be seen from the Surat factors' letter home of November 2 (printed in the Appendix) that the commission must have been signed either on the latter date or the day preceding

[2] See p. 189.

Rastell, and George Pley, servants to the Honourable Company trading the East Indies, we have laden aboard the ship James, of 600 tons burthen or thereabouts (whereof is master Alexander Childe), sundry sorts of commodities for the account of the aforesaid Company, which by bills of lading are made consignable unto you the above-named for that employment, in any the ports of Persia, to be delivered at pleasure, howbeit we would have the ship to sail directly for the port Jasques, according to the true intent of our foresaid consultations; and for the more security, besides the pilot you carry with you, we hold it not amiss to provide yourselves of another out of some junk or frigate upon that coast, to the end you may proceed on to your desired port with less fear of danger.

2. Upon your arrival (which the Lord grant may be in safety) we desire you, Mr. Connok, address yourself to the next most eminent governor to that place adjoining, and by virtue of the King of Persia his firmaen to procure you free acceptance, with liberty of free landing your goods and grant of quiet trade, endeavouring to articulate with him in the behoof of your business for the present, until you can obtain more large and ample conditions from the Sophie himself for the future.

3. Having thus conditioned with the Governor, you may then unlade your goods and procure conveyance thereof to the next good town of defence where they may remain secure from robbers and Portingalls, who in their frigates coasting along those parts may haply attempt the surprising of a small maritime village, the rather to supplant you and ruin your proceedings; and this we would have you to endeavour with all convenient speed, whereby you may be the better able to despatch away the ship to be here again before the fleet's departure, as is expected and determined by consultation; which particular we much recommend to your care, as also by her to advise us of all occurrences and success of your business in that place.

4. These goods being landed and conveyed to a town of safety as aforesaid, we desire that you, Mr. Connok, make your speedy repair to the King, taking with you such merchants, attendants and goods[1] as you in your judgment and the consultation shall

[1] The second copy adds here: 'of [if ?] so needful.'

hold requisite. The rest of the merchants remaining may take charge[1] there left; with whom also you may leave such order for their direction in the business as the quality thereof shall require.

5. Arriving at Court, you are there to present the Sophie with His Majesty's letter, together with some present in his Majesty's name as by consultation shall be thought acceptable to a great Prince, having always a provident regard to the Company's purse and the small cavydall[2] you carry with you, that neither in this or other expenses they may have cause to lament. Howbeit, for the honour of our nation and the furthering the business you treat of, it will be requisite that you bear yourself with that reputation as may in some sort procure your grace and continuance with the King, to the end that by often access to His Majesty you may with more freedom and facility attain to your wished ends. You are then to capitulate for such conditions of peace and privileges for trade as you in your judgment and sufficiency can procure, using your best and wisest endeavours therein and with as much advantage in the Company's behalf as your best experience can possibly guide you to, wherein also the copy of the articles granted by the Great Mogoll (which herewithal we deliver you) may partly serve for precedent.

6. These articles granted and agreed on we desire may be sent overland through Turkey to the Honourable Company our masters in England, giving them particular advice of all occurrences and light of that trade, as well of the commodities it will vend as of those it affords, with the weights, measures, coins and what else you hold needful. The like also we require for this place of Suratt and Bantam, from which places you may be furnished with such commodities for Persia as no doubt will produce benefit.

7. This league and trade once settled you may then draw your goods into the great cities where you find best vent, especially Spahan, which by information yields greatest sales. And in case your business shall of necessity require the charge of two factories, then we order that you, Mr. Connok, have the preeminency of the chiefest place, and to take to you for second in that employment George Pley, with such others of the factors for assistant as the consultation shall appoint; and over the other place we ordain

[1] 'Of the goods' (second copy). [2] See p. 192.

Thomas Barker chief, Edward Pettus his second, with another assistant for the managing of that business. But if as aforesaid you reduce all your affairs to one factory, then (as by act of our consultation appears) Tho. Barker is appointed second, George Pley third, Edward Pettus fourth, etc. And in case of mortality they are one to succeed another according to their precedency of place.

8. For the sales of your commodities you must first diligently inform yourselves whether all such sorts you carry with you be there vendible or not. Those which are not we wish may be still retained aboard the ship and by her returned again for this place. For the rest of[1] you are to govern yourselves according to the time, for therein we cannot limit you; yet we doubt not you will procure the Company's most advantage in every respect, and with the proceed of your goods sold to be daily investing in silks and other commodities profitable for England, endeavouring their readiness against the arrival of the next year's fleet; of all which your sales and employments etc. you are to keep exact and merchantlike accounts fairly written out into books of paper to that purpose, and the same to be participate[2] and left open to the view of every factor, and the balance of those accounts every three months from each factory delivered up to the chief wheresoever he shall reside, to whom (as in this kingdom is observed) in all your affairs you are to have relation and direction.

9. We further desire that the Honourable Company's order (so often by them urged) for the suppressing of private trade by their factors be amongst you truly and diligently observed, and the goods or moneys of the parties so transgressing to be seized on to the Company's use, and the parties themselves dismissed their employment or for[3] England, according to the Company's order in that behalf.

10. And for that by death or otherwise the charge of the Company's business may fall into the hands of some such who out of insufficiency or wilfulness may dispose of things to the Company's great loss and detriment, we do therefore order that all your affairs in each factory be determined by consultation, consisting of Edward Connok, Tho. Barker, George Pley and Edward Pettus, in case you make but one factory; if two, then

[1] Not in the second copy. [2] 'Participated' (*ibid.*). [3] 'Sent for' (*ibid.*).

to consist of all the factors in each several factory; keeping a formal register, as well thereof as of all letters and other passages which may concern the Company's affairs, to whom also we would have you send once every year copies of the premisses, according to the injunction to us here in like case ordained.

11. In these instructions (as you see) we have briefly confined ourselves to such few heads as we have conceived needful[1] for your direction and behoofful to the benefit of our honourable employers; wherein if we have omitted anything (by us not thought of) that were further requisite the mentioning, we do presume that your experienced sufficiencies and integrities to the Company (on both which we chiefly rely) will be carefully extended to supply the accomplishment of what shall be necessary the observing in the Company's affairs to you entrusted.

12. Yet forasmuch as in the third article we ordained that after procurement of your goods landed, you forthwith should dispeed away the ship again for this place to be here before the fleet's departure, we do (notwithstanding the same) upon more mature consideration further add, that if it should please God the ship by some sinister accident in her passage into Persia, or by extraordinary unexpected delays or detention there shall so consume time as that by all reason and probability you find she cannot possibly return hither by the fine of February (which God forbid), then we expressly order you despatch her thence directly for Bantame, there to meet the fleet, and by her to advise Captain Keeleing and the factory there of all things needful at large.

13. And lastly we recommend unto you the careful government of yourselves and people there in the country, and that you suppress all such disorders wherein God may be displeased or our nation dishonoured; so that living together with mutual society of love and unity, each man to other yielding that due respect and right as becometh his place, God may give a blessing to your labours and a happy issue to these your intended designs; which for His mercy's sake we beseech Him to grant. Amen.

Endorsed: Copy of a commission or directions given to our good friends Mr. Edward Connock, Thomas Barker, &c., bound by God's grace for Persia, 1616. From the factors in Persia.

[1] Supplied from second copy.

408

A Commission to Alexander Child, commander of the James, for the voyage to Persia, the 6th of November, 1616.[1]

I, HENRY PEPPWELL, chief commander of the fleet now riding in the road of Swally, by virtue of His Majesty's commission directed unto me under his broad seal, dated the 20th day of December in anno 1615,[2] for the commanding and governing a fleet of six sail of ships, namely the Charles of the burden of 900 tons, the Unicorn of 700 tons, the James of 600 tons, the Globe of 500 tons, the Swan of 400 tons, and the Rose of 140 tons, as also to have full power and authority to dispose of all persons whatsoever going in the said fleet: the which ships and men are set forth at the costs and charges of the Honourable Company of Merchants of London trading for the East Indies, whose instructions I am to follow, with divers other matters contained in the said commission: do give knowledge by this my present writing that by the authority aforesaid I have appointed and licensed my very loving friend Alexander Childe, commander of the James, to go unto the port of Jasques in Pertia, or to the next most convenient place or port adjoining thereunto, with his said ship, company and merchandise. And there arriving (which I pray God may be in safety) do expressly order that he attend no longer than the space and term of 25 days, and that then he make his return unto the road of Swallye with all the convenient speed he can. And do further authorize him that if he be assaulted by any, he do not only repel their forces, but do his best endeavour to take and surprise such ship or ships, and to bring them, with their goods and merchandise to the road of Swallye aforesaid; where at his return if he shall find the fleet departed, I would have him direct his course for Bantam, where he shall receive further instructions. And in case the forenamed Alexander Childe should die (which God forbid), I do appoint Anthony Fugas to succeed in his place and

[1] There is another copy (badly damaged) in Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2121, f. 103*b*.
[2] Printed in *The First Letter Book of the East India Company* (p. 463). See also the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513–1616, p. 450.

command, giving the like power unto him as to the said Alexander Childe, as is before written.

Given under my hand and seal this 6th of November, 1616.

Henry Pepwell.

Endorsed: A commission directed unto Captain Alexander Childe.

408A

Joseph Salbank to the East India Company.

[Agra, November, 1616.][1]

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful Gentlemen, I am persuaded that you will reprehend me of negligence and a careless omission of my duty in that, whereas the year past 1615 every Englishman of any mean quality living in the Mogol's dominion did express and manifest his dutiful respect unto your Worships by his letters written unto you to the end to advertise you of the state and occurrences of our affairs in these parts, I, that am the ancientest servant that you have in all this country, or elsewhere, and that am obliged unto you in a nearer respect than any of the rest are, have been silent and write nothing at all. This, I say, may perhaps minister unto you an occasion of some sinister and bad opinion of me, were it not that I am able to make such an apology for myself as will satisfy, I doubt not, such discreet, wise, and judicious gentlemen as you are; the substance whereof in few words is this: that I wrote as far forth as any of the rest and discovered my mind at

[1] The letter itself bears no indication of date or place of origin. It is clear, however, from internal evidence, that it was written in November, 1616, and Salbank was then at Agra. The exact date cannot be fixed. The editor of the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513-1616, has accepted the conjecture of November 6, given in the list of contents of the O.C. volume; but there seems to be no particular reason for its adoption, and November 15 or 16, when the English caravan left Agra for Surat (see p. 240), is probably nearer the mark.

For an account of Salbank's adventurous career, see *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 101.

large unto you in my letter, but this disastrous and unhappy chance happened unto me that the patamar (for so in this country they call poor footmen that are letter-bearers) by whom I sent my letters came so late to Swally (where the ship did ride) that they were gone before my letters could come thither; which did not a little grieve me. This was the only occasion that I was frustrated of sending my letters; so that I hope you will take this for a reasonable answer that I satisfied not your expectations about the premisses. But what was wanting the last year, I supply by these my present lines, hoping that you will vouchsafe to take them in as good part as any letters that you receive at this time out of the Indies, seeing they proceed from as pure sincerity of affection and as true a heart as any of my countrymen residing in these parts doth or can bear unto you.

The first matter that I will intimate unto you shall be the discovery of a great indignity and wrong done unto me by your insolent General Keelling, towards whom though I carried myself in every respective manner in our whole voyage betwixt England and the Indies, yet without any desert of mine or the least colour of any just cause that could be objected against me, he disgraded me (as I may properly say), removing me from the place which your Worships had allotted and assigned unto me, and placed punies[1] and young men in my stead, which yielded more discontent unto me than any injuries I sustained this long time; for I know that as your Worships did in your mature wisdom and discretion bestow such a place upon me, so you would not allow of such insolency in your Generals to displace me again without cause, and so to disannul and annihilate your authority. I beseech your Worships to consider and seriously to scan this with yourselves, that of all your servants you have in these parts I am the eldest, so that the almond tree hath displayed his white blossoms upon my head ever since I was admitted into your service, and scarce before, in all which time I have been as careful of your public weal and as true, faithful and trusty unto you as ever was my right hand unto my left. This being so, I

[1] Small creatures, men of inferior rank (Fr. *puisne*, whence our 'puisne judge'). Halliwell says that freshmen at Oxford were called *punies of the first year*; and the word is evidently used here in the sense of beginners, or men of no experience.

entreat your Worships to revolve the matter in your sage and discreet thoughts, whether I am worthy to be dismissed of the place which you yourselves bestowed upon me.

Another thing of no small moment I will impart unto you, doubting not but that if you make that use of my poor advice that you may, you will say that it will redound to your great profit and emolument. I perceive that you have entertained this constant and inviolable custom from the beginning of your trade here, to send hither Generals as the supreme disposers and governors not only of your sea affairs but also of your land business, even amongst your factors and servants planted in the country; who, because their authority is very large and in a manner unlimited, are emboldened to abuse it and to exceed their bounds very unmeasurably, to your no small prejudice and detriment. For some of them have not sticked to tyrannize and domineer very enormously over those that have been as good or rather better than themselves, without respect of honesty or good manners. Others have strained all the sinews of their endeavours to enrich themselves and amplify their fortunes by the most indirect and dishonest courses that their working brains could contrive; particular examples whereof I need not instance unto you, seeing I am sure you know it, and that by your too dear experience, far better than I am able to inform you; and wherehence cometh it to pass that they cram their purses so full with money after they come home, and raise themselves from a mean degree to an estate far surmounting both their merits and the obscurity of their plebeian parentage, but from their lordly and imperious sway they carry over others when they come from you armed with the proud authority of Generals? Verily, Right Honourable and Right Worshipful, this hath cost your purses dear within these few years; and more it will, except in time you look to it to hold in the reins of such kind of inordinate commanders, which convert your authority to their own private lucre and gain. One late and familiar example, not altogether impertinent to the confirmation of this that I go about to prove, I will produce out of mine own knowledge in this last year's experience. It happened that a poor mariner of one of the ships of our fleet, being threatened by our General to be hanged, or at the least to

be very rigorously punished, for a petty fault that he had committed upon the shore, and indeed being afraid lest some extreme matter should have been inflicted upon him, nimmed[1] a bag of money out of one of the merchants' chests, wherein was 40*l.* sterling, intending indeed to have conveyed out but 10*s.* that might have defrayed his charges to some place or other where he might have been secure out of the reach of the General's authority. This money, consisting of the two-shillings pieces of this country called roopeas, he carried so closely and circumspectly without danger of thieves (whereof divers parts of this country are full) for some forty days' journey till he came to his countrymen at Agra, that he restored the whole entirely unto them, saving the said 10*s.* he had spent for his charges.[2] If he had been a lewd and greedy mariner (as too many of that profession are so) he would have escaped away with that 40*l.* of the Company's money without any honest regard of restoring as much as one piece thereof, which would have come to pass by the domineering threatenings of the General for a fault very venial and pardonable. Neither will I omit to declare unto you another most intolerable inconvenience that falleth upon us here in the Indies by this boundless authority of your Generals. It hath often happened heretofore, and without doubt will again hereafter (except in time you prevent it), that your Generals of their own private authority, without any immediate commission from you, have left very dissolute scapethrifts here in the country for servants unto those of our nation that have been planted here; whereof some have afterward, like most execrable apostates, renounced the blessed religion of our Saviour Christ, and captivated theirselves to the devil by turning accursed Mahometans; one woeful example whereof is to this day showed in this country of India (but not in this king's dominions), for at this time there liveth in the city of Bejappoor, in the country of Dackan, which is a part of this large and ample India, a most impious renegado villain of our nation,[3] one that had been left in this country by one of our Generals; who being discontented with his present estate relinquished the

[1] *To nim* was to take or steal; hence Shakespeare's Corporal Nym.
[2] This appears to be a garbled account of Pierce's robbery, for which see p. 302.
[3] Possibly Peter Mutton (see vol. iii., p. 330).

society of his countrymen and for a little mess of bitter pottage (as I may truly say) sold his right in the kingdom of heaven, which was purchased him by the precious death of our Redeemer. Others have united themselves in a wicked league of conspiracy to cut the throats of the cape-merchant and factors (as namely of Mr. Aldworth, who since that time died here amongst us [1]) that afterward they might seize upon their goods and carry it into some strange country, where they might spend it luxuriously in maintaining their filthy vices. Again they have left some others here of such a remiss and lazy disposition that they have done little or no service for their wages, scarce earning the bread that they eat. All this evil happeneth by the Generals leaving such idle and unprofitable drones behind them, without commission from you. Whether this be worthy of reformation or not I pray deliberate you yourselves about it. Therefore for the prevention of these and suchlike inconveniences your Worships will do very providently to send a staid, grave and well experienced merchant for the Governor of your fleet, with authority to manage such business as shall tend to the utility of you all in common, and not to improve his own private affairs to the sudden undeserved advancement of themselves and the hindrance of your public proceedings.

Now whereas it is requisite that I should somewhat particularize unto you the present estate of our business here, and what commodities are best and fittest to be brought, such a wise and discreet gentleman is lately come home unto you (if God hath granted him [a] prosperous and a safe voyage) from these parts, but I believe not a little against his will, namely, Master William Edwardes, our quondam cape merchant here; one that can and will so exactly inform you of all these business that I may well save my labour. Truly I cannot mention the name of that honest and worthy man without some kind of relenting commiseration of him; for although he carried himself very uprightly in this country, giving no just occasion of offence to any person whatsoever, for ought that I could either see or hear, yet the good innocent man was extremely maligned by divers of our malicious countrymen that I am sure could allege no other cause why they should so spitefully repine at him, but only for his provident

[1] For this assault on Aldworth, see vol. iii., p. 303.

frugality and frugal providence in managing your business amongst them. So that the old rule is to be observed in all countries, I think, of the world, that envy is the inseparable companion of virtue. Needs must the arrogant General Keeling call Mr. Edwards from the place where he remained at the King's court and summon him by the thunderbolts of his threats to come before him; whither no sooner did he repair but immediately some of them, like a company of ravenous vultures, seized upon him with their cruel gripes, laying hands not only upon his goods, which in their great wisdom forsooth they confiscated to the use of your Right Worshipful Company,[1] and also many other discourtesies unbeseeming his place and quality, which I, that was no seer but only a hearer of such insupportable wrongs offered to so worthy a person, did not a little condole his misery. I think I may boldly affirm that neither before his time there hath been nor now is his peer of an Englishman to be found in this country for merchandising affairs. Therefore, the uprightness of the man being duly weighed, I believe your Worships will redress his wrongs and repay them upon those that have so publicly scandalized and disgraced his person.

This little digression from my main matter I have made by the way of naming a man that I know can well advertise you of the state of the commodities of this country if he liveth to come home. Nevertheless, because it behoveth me to give a slight glance at the same, in a few words this I signify to your Worships: first, for cloth, that you sent hither so much that we know not how to vent it, being indeed the most unvendible commodity that we have here; notwithstanding, it will not be amiss to send a reasonable quantity of red cloths, and amongst twenty, one of green or yellow if you will, but no mingled colours by any means. I by mine own experience do know the bad sale of our cloth here, for in my six months' abode in the city of Agra we could not put away as much as one piece upon any reasonable terms. But here we were constrained to buy coarse indigo to the end to put off our cloth, paying half money and half cloth, and for another sort of indigo we gave six parts in money and five parts in cloth, ten roopees the coveda, which is half a quarter less than our yard.

[1] See p. 295.

This we were in a manner forced to do for uttering of our cloth, which otherwise would have been consumed with worms. Therefore I would counsel you to send cloths hither very sparingly. Concerning lead, tin, quicksilver and vermilion, they are commodities that will vent here so so, but with no such great advantage. Some kind of sword-blades are vendible, I mean those that are broad and long, and will bend and not stand. Elephants' teeth are always a good commodity and like to continue. Looking-glasses, pictures, comb-cases and spectacles are not merchantable wares, but only to give away for presents. Knives, if they are rich and fair upon the hafts and large, will sell very well and for ready money, which is the main sinew of trade. It will be convenient for you to make provision for a good sum to be left in the country, that it may be invested for you after the departure of your ships; for that the ships would be speedily despatched if it were so, but because you have not such a stock here as you should have, it cometh to pass that three or four ships remain here three or four months more than ordinary, to the extreme charge of your Company, for the protecting of your ships homeward bound against the violent assaults of the Portingales. Commodities are so rife in this country that if you had a hundred or two thousand pounds[1] in ready money to disburse for them, quickly would there be found goods enough. For the Portingals do lade every year 3 or 4 ships with this country commodities, whereof the meanest is of 1,600 tons, each of them carrying as much as four of your ships. Now this I can assure you that for want of such a sum of money all of [us that remain ?] in this country are constrained to live idly the whole year after the departure of the ships, having very little employment to spend our time in; for our cloth is but a dead commodity, about the disposal whereof we are very little occupied. And when our ships arrive here, upon a sudden there is such a stir for buying of commodities to send home to you, so that it cost a great deal more than it would if we had money to furnish the ships with goods against their coming, if you can possibly bring it to pass.

Moreover I wish that you would give some order from henceforth that some of us may take some pains to discover all the

[1] 'One or two hundred thousand pounds' is meant.

parts of this country, to the end to make the more sale of our cloth, for observation sake of the most commodious places of traffic, as the Portingales do; as to the country of Bengala, that belongeth to this King, and is washed by the famous river Ganges, and to such other notable places of commerce for the vent of our commodities; which you will find much better for you than that we should live so idly as we do.

Amongst other matters I hold one thing more very necessary to be propounded to the public considerations of you all. There is an eminent and worthy gentleman in this country, by nation a Tartar, called Mahobet Chan[1]; one that by his virtue and wisdom hath so much insinuated himself into the favour of this Great Mogol that he is become one of the greatest personages of his whole kingdom, and is singular well respected by his Majesty for his true allegiance, fidelity and loyalty unto him. This man, being advertised by a letter from my Lord Ambassador of the insupportable oppressions, wrongs and extortions that our nation have sustained at Surrat by the means of a cruel griping governor there, made a very courteous and loving offer unto him, by an answer of his foresaid letter,[2] of the town of Boroche, where we may safely land all our goods whatsoever, faithfully promising that we should be absolutely exempted from all such exactions and injuries as we were subject unto in Surrat. The goodness and generosity of this nobleman being considered, and his love to strangers, especially to our nation in particular, I think it very convenient for you to withdraw your trade from Surrat and to settle and plant it principally at this proffered town of Baroch, as being a place very commodious for all kinds of Indian cloth that is made in those parts, as Cambaia and other towns of some note bordering about it. Only it will be requisite for you to make some provision for two good frigates that may transport your goods from the ships to the shore, and from the shore to the ships, lest otherwise they should be intercepted by the envious Portingals; for our ships will be constrained to ride a pretty way from the shore by reason of the shoaled water. So that for the prevention of the Portingals, who would be glad of any advantage against us by taking our goods and violently carry the same away

[1] See vol. iii., p. 302. [2] See p. 141.

from us, you shall do very providently to make two good strong frigates of a convenient length and breadth, and that may draw four or five foot water at the most and well fitted, which will thoroughly secure our goods and violent carrying the same away from us, against the invasion of our forenamed enemies, and after [your] ships are gone will be hauled up ashore and lie safely for seven or eight months till another succeeding fleet shall come thither. If you knew so certainly as we that remain amongst these vile people what grievous villainies we have received at Surrat, and that even by the connivance and permission, or rather to speak more truly by the express commandment of Sultan Corrone, the chief lord of the place, being the King's third son and one that by an inveterate hatred wisheth ill to all Christians, you would with all expedition address your trade to Baroch. For this last year 1615 (besides at other times) the Governor of Surrat very violently extorted our goods from us against all right and reason, without making full restitution for them [ ]; for his officers did not stick to take from us our knives and money out of our pockets, being authorized by himself, that [ ] Governor; and cloth that he did take away in the Customhouse, and other wrongs that was offered to the tin and lead and the elephants' teeth, as was grievous to behold, as none of our countrymen in any other Mahometan kingdom, either Turkie, Peartia, and Barbarie, did ever suffer the like. But the capital injury that was offered us was about our cloth; for the Governor took from us a great quantity of our better sort of cloths by as great violence as ever did thief take away any goods from a true man upon the highway, and that to your great damage and loss; promising afterward some recompense for the same. These oppressions were [made?] the more heinous by how much the more they were countenanced by Sultan Caroone, who at this present is going to Bra[mpore] in the country of Dackan, within ten days' journey of Surrat. He is like to insult over our nation much more than when he was farther; and therefore whether our trade should continue there where so many insolencies and barbarous villainies have been offered us without hope of redress, or to be rather transferred to another place where we may be secure and free from all oppressions, pray judge amongst yourselves. But hereof enough, because I believe my

Lord Ambassador will more particularly inform you of these matters than I am able to do. Again, concerning one commodity that you have sent in your fleet this year, I must say that you have been very ill advised, I mean your strong waters; for they redound to less profit unto you than any other thing whatsoever you send into these parts, being for the most part prodigally spent and consumed by our own people, that have lickorous throats and are addicted to quaffing. So that when you come to survey and peruse your accounts for these matters, I am persuaded you shall take little notice of any bottles that are sold, but that most of them either leaked or were given away for presents, scarce one amongst twenty being sold. Therefore, seeing this is so true as nothing more, I would advise you to send very few strong waters here after this, but only such as you mean to give away either to the King or to such other great personage that will be well pleased with such a present.

My Lord Ambassador hath managed his place very honorably since he came to the Mogol's court, with that frugal respect of your profit that I believe you could hardly have picked out a fitter and worthier man for the administering of his place in our whole kingdom. I perceive that certain things which he in his wisdom had projected unto himself and proposed to the factors here resident to be done concerning the altering of some places of factories, have been crossed and thwarted by certain of them who (in my opinion) are a little too saucy to confront him with terms of opposition, whose wisdom, purchased by his long experience and deep knowledge in literature, ought to exempt him from the contradiction of such novices as do so boldly presume to infringe his [verdict ?]. I understand that some of our countrymen that came with your last fleet have a design to go shortly into Persia, without taking the advice of my Lord Ambassador, who seems not to be a little displeased with them. Surely herein they are like to do somewhat inconsiderately in my opinion, for as the opinion of so worthy a gentleman, whose discretion and experience in the state of the world is very much, would have been very available unto them. So their heedless going thither, if at the best they persevere in a constant determination to prosecute their voyage without solid [consideration ?] and the advice of his Lordship, may tend exceed-

ingly both to the hazard of their lives and to the ruin of the goods they carry with them; for the Portingals do so domineer and sway in divers principal mart towns situated upon the sea betwixt Surrat and Jasques, the port town in the Persian Gulf whither our men [design ?], being in a manner the lords and chief commanders of those seas, that I believe it will be utterly inconvenient for them to go in that naked manner as they are like to expose themselves. Notwithstanding, if they persist steadfastly in their resolution I wish them a happy issue of their designments, as that they may be graciously entertained by the King, and thrive well in the country to their heart's desire and all your goods in common.

Something I do remember I had almost forgotten, which, though it cometh not in so orderly as it might if I had before thought upon it: whereas there hath been a bitter skirmish betwixt us and the Portingale near to Commory, in which there was a great slaughter and effusion of blood on both sides; on our side that worthy Captain Benjamin Joseph being most cruelly slain by a great piece of ordnance that rent him in many pieces, and six or seven more of our men most unfortunately perishing in that battle; on their side the Viceroy [1] that was coming to Goa and many others tasting of the same sauce that our men did, and their long and vast carrack utterly ruined, being swallowed in the bottomless belly of the sea, with all their rich goods in the same: I am persuaded that upon the memory of this lately received overthrow, they are now and a long time will be so furiously enraged that they will endeavour not only by bell, book and candle, but also with fire and sword and the most bitter hostility that can be, to persecute us here [ ]; and therefore in respect of their late loss and ruin sustained by us I do believe they will seek all the means that can be to be revenged upon us, even by intercepting our ships (if it be possible) that is now bound for Persia. So that it is too likely they will find a very dangerous voyage of it.

Touching the money for my salary which your Worships do pay me at home, whereas you know I have appointed Mr. Henry Robinson as my deputy to receive and let him dispose of it

[1] This was a mistake.

according to his own discretion, either to take it up for me and retain in his own hands, if he thinks convenient, or to suffer it to remain in your own hands and at your disposing. The duty and respect which I owe to your [honour]able fraternity for the long service sake in which you have employed me in these far remote eastern parts of Asia doth bind me by a straight form of obligation to advise you to the uttermost of my power to those things which may further your public good, and to dissuade you from those things which may impair or hinder the same. And so in hope of your charitable and right construction of my integrity towards you, I humbly bequeath you, Right Honourable and Right Worshipful persons, to the heavenly tuition of the Lord of Hosts.

Your servant in all duty to command,

Joseph Salbancke.

No address or endorsement.

409

Francis Fettiplace to the East India Company.

Ajmere and Agra, 1st September and 26th November, 1616.

RIGHT Worshipful, and my worthy employers, Herewith I am bold to disturb your Worships' more earnest affairs, for which I crave pardon and desire that you would be pleased from me also (as from one of your most inferior ranked servants) to accept in good part what advice and information my young and unexperienced years are able to give you of the state of your Worships' negotiations in these inland parts of India, Agemere and Agra, wholly referring your Worships, for what concerns other factories here settled and established, to their chiefs and to others more experienced therein.

My two last[1] to your Worships were the one of the 10th January, 1615 [1616], per the Lion, the other by way of Spahan overland of the 15th February, 1615 [1616], whereunto refer me for what concerned our last year's proceedings in the abovesaid factories; notwithstanding my fear of the miscarrying of those by

[1] Neither of these is extant.

way of Spahan and so to Aleppo, for that as yet the messenger, sent expressly per my Lord Ambassador on the news of the Persian business[1] from Richard Steele and John Crouther, is not returned.

Since, about the 10th March following, came to Agemere Wm. Biddulph, appointed chief for this factory by Captain Keelinge, and not long after another caffilo from Suratt, containing in both 400 cloths, some baize, kerseys, Muscovy hides, swords, hot waters, etc.; whose late coming up with the goods hath not only hindered our this year's sales, but also hath made us extreme backward in our employments of the proceed of those goods, which with earnest entreaty, presents and much bribing we have made hard shift to put off, namely, about 116 broadcloths, besides some 40 sent for Agra in April, with other things, under the charge of Joseph Salbanke and John Crouther (not long before returned from Persia), which yet remain there unsold.

The abovesaid goods were most of them sold for two or three months' time, the cloth at 9½ and 10 rupees per covado of ⅞ yard; hides at 10 and 9½ rupees per piece; baize and kerseys at 3 rupees per ditto covado; cases of bottles at 50, 60, and 70 rupees [per] piece; which sales may all amount to rupees 40,000, the rupee at 2⅛ per rials of eight. Hereof is and will be received within this month 30,000 or 32,000 rupees, whereof 6 or 7,000 may be paid out and delivered over to my Lord Ambassador for the defraying of necessary expenses. So may rest, for our this year's stock raised of the sales at the Court and to be employed in Agra, about 25 or 26,000 rupees. The rest are in debts of long time. This I entreat your Worships to take as an estimate or computation and not as an exact extract of our books of account.

Time of the year being now far spent and the vintage of indigo now already come, Wm. Biddulph, Robert Yonge, Robert Hewes and myself in consultation resolved forthwith to dispeed for Agra those thought fit and appointed by those of Suratt, which were Robert Yonge and myself; whither we set forward, for the investment of the said money, about the beginning of September last.

So much written and dated at the Court in Agemere, the prime September, 1616.

[1] See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 128.

At our arrival at Agra we perceived that, notwithstanding their five months' abode here, our fellows had yet sold naught except a few Muscovia hides at 5 rupees [per] piece; whereat we much marvelled not, in consideration of the heavy druggishness of their commodity cloth, and other reasons.

We found also Biana indigoes, through want of seasonable rains this year, so scarce and therefore so dear (namely, at 35 rupees per great maund of 41 seres) that except we should have exceeded their commission from Suratt, limited to 30 rupees for the best, we might by no means adventure thereon; and therefore turned our minds and endeavours upon Semanes,[1] whereof they gave us order from Suratt to buy for one-third of our stock.

Of this sort of clothing we procured to the number of 2,234 pieces in sorts, which cost according to invoice between 8 and 15 rupees per chuckree[2] of 4 pieces and are all well packed in 18 chests; they contain ordinarily between 11½ and 12 covado long, and between 1⅛ and 1 covado broad. The finest are broadest; neither are they sorted by the sellers all of a goodness, for in a parcel of 100 pieces will be more or less 40 pieces of 2 rupees per piece, 40 of 2½ per piece and 20 of 3 rupees per piece, and so are bought according to the parcel's goodness, one with another. The clothing is good and reasonably bought in respect of their ordinary prices; yet in my opinion the Baroch baftaes exceed them far in goodness, and in proportion to their length and breadth are far cheaper to be bought, yea by 40 per cent; only the breadth and starching of the Semanes blinds the eyes of men.

Having bought and packed of these Semanes for the value of 5,700 rupees, we received notice from Agemere of the getting in the rest of their moneys, and received about 8,800 rupees more by bills of exchange from Suratt. Whereupon, perceiving also indigo to begin to fall, we resolved to employ the remainder of our stock therein, and yet the high rates of rich and principal indigo gave us but small encouragement to deal therein for ready

[1] A kind of striped calico, elsewhere called 'semians,' 'semianoes,' etc.

[2] Hind. *chakar*, used in the sense of a roll or bale. O.C. No. 579 says that at Agra 'semianas' were bought by the 'chockrie of four pieces.' Cp. also vol. i., pp. 317, 336.

money, and the decaying of our cloth the contrary, namely, to buy for second and coarser sorts in barter of that heavy commodity (being not able to procure the best on any such terms). Of all which three sorts we have accomplished as followeth: of the best and principal sort 119 bales, contents according to invoice, and cost ready money, some 29, 30½, 31, 32 and 33 rupees net per maund of 41 seres: of a second sort, 119 bales cost 28¾ and 29 rupees net per ditto maund in barter of cloth of all colours at 10 rupees net per covado, to pay for some ½ money, ½ cloth, for other some $\frac{6}{11}$ money, $\frac{5}{11}$ cloth: 62 bales of a coarser sort, cost 22 rupees net per maund, in barter of cloth of all colours at 10 rupees net per covado, to pay ½ money, ½ cloth, the cloth valued by us at 6½ and 7 rupees per covado and so the indigo proportionate. The cloths delivered in barter are between 23 and 24 pieces, whereof 6 were part of those left here by Captain Downton, which for their colours, stains, and moth-holes, were so bad as that they were little worth, yea, and ourselves ashamed to show them. These 300 fardles indigoes well packed, with the 18 chests semanes, we dispeeded for Suratt on the 16th November under the charge of Robert Yonge, John Crouther, John Yonge and Jacob Duchman,[1] which I hope will arrive there in safety by the middle of January next.[2] Little hope resteth of selling cloth here now awhile for ready money; yet I make no question, were there money here in cash, but better sorts of indigoes might be here bought at more reasonable rates for half money, half cloth, having time to beat the prices to the lowest, but not for any great quantity of the said cloth.

Of the commodities required by your Worships for England here are only to be bought at good rates indigoes round, Semanes, Cheetes[3] of all sorts, and carpets. Indigoes Biana, the flower and principal, are always worth here, being old and dry, 36 and 38 rupees per maund, and in my opinion will turn your Worships as good profit at those rates as that of Amadavas. Indigo called here Newty is a good sort and (if I mistake not) is best liked of in England. It inclineth more to reddish colour than the best, and

[1] Jacob the Dutchman (or German; cp. pp. 18, 289).

[2] The caravan reached Ajmere about the end of November (see *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 352, 355).

[3] Chintz.

is inferior in its price to the best 4 or 5 rupees per maund and will not swim. Neither are indigoes here to be bought in sorts and all of one goodness: but are for the most part mingled, insomuch that in a bale of good indigo may be one maund worth 24 rupees per maund, 2 maunds worth 30 rupees per maund, and ½ maund worth 35 rupees per maund. Allowances on this commodity are not certain; sometimes 5 per cento in abatement and weight, sometimes nothing at all, according as the governors of the city please. On Semianes are 3 and 4 per cento abatement.

Indigo is made thus. In the prime June they sow it, which the rains bring up about the prime September; this they cut and it is called the Newty, formerly mentioned, and is a good sort. Next year it sprouts again in the prime August, which they cut and is the best indigo, called Jerry.[1] Two months after it sprouts again, which they cut and thereof they make the worst sort; and afterwards they let it grow to seed and sow again. Being cut, they steep it 24 hours in a cistern of water; then they draw it into another cistern, where men beat it six hours forcibly with their hands till it become blue, mixing therewith a little oil; then, having stood another day, they draw off the water and there resteth settled at the bottom pure indigo (which some to falsify mix with dirt and sand); which they dry by degrees, first in cloths till the water be sunk from it and it be curdled; afterwards they dry it in round gobbets.

Of what needful and requisite concerning Agra I have advised the chiefs at Suratt, referring to their considerations the employment of the quantity of money this year come, whether here or in Amadavas. And for sales have also written them what here may be expected; and rendered up a particular account of what here passed to those of Agemere.

[1] With the kind assistance of Dr. George Watt, C.I.E., Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India, the following explanation of the terms 'Jerry' and 'Newty' has been obtained from Mr. W. B. Wishart, of Cawnpore:—'Enquiries made in the Cawnpore District show that *Jarri* or *Jari* is a known term for second-crop indigo. 'Newty' is not now used, but is no doubt a corruption of the word *nayá*, or 'new,' *i.e.*, the *first* crop.'

Wilson, in his *Glossary*, gives *jári* as meaning 'cultivated for a second or subsequent crop,' and derives it from the Arabic *jári*, 'flowing' or 'current.'

With reference to this very interesting account of indigo manufacture, Dr. Watt notes that the custom of taking several crops off the same roots appears now to have been discontinued all over India.

Had I not been opposed by those of Suratt and Agemere and charged to the contrary, I had gone down with the goods as far as the Court, there to have finished a task which hath always been imposed on me since my arriving in these parts, namely the keeping of the books of accounts for this factory of Agemere and Agra; an assidual toil and not so permanent as troublesome, and that not unknown to most of your Worships' servants, though my pains therein were evilly requited last year through wrong offered not only to your Worships but to me also in the detention of their copies by Thomas Barker, contrary to your Worships' order. Mr. Edwards took charge of them in Agemere, and it seemeth delivered them Barker to enter into the accounts of Suratt; who there kept them by him, but to what end I know not nor can imagine, unless haply he feared that the merchantlike order and proceeding in the one might eclipse his desired sunshine. But whether this year he sendeth them or not, with me it matters not, having already performed my duty in consigning them to your Worships; but come they when they will, if they may be but censured by the skilful I doubt not but their perfection will soon stop the mouths of all such carping and barking Momuses. The last year's accounts of Agemere miscarried in the way, through Mr. Edwards his negligence, whom they most concerned; and how this year's will be finished I know not, doubting much that neither from thence nor from Suratt your Worships will receive a true account this year; knowing that as yet ye never received any perfect, whereat I much marvel, thinking that they want not sufficient accountants in Suratt; otherwise my proffered service to them in that point would not have stunk.

For commodities from England I can give but small encouragement; only do approve of your Worships' late course taken in the sending such a quantity of money; which if you could yearly double, this trade would prove an honest and beneficial trade, and did your Worships deal for millions this country would not fail of commodity; for the whole stock now sent in these four ships is not able to buy the tithe of the rich indigo made here about Agra. Broadcloth, for the reasons alleged in my former to your Worships per the Lion, above

200 pieces per annum will not sell; and these also must be one half reds and stamells, one-third greens and yellows, one-sixth of other light colours. Of late I received notice from Agemere of the sale of 140 cloths there to two Banians, the good payment whereof I so much doubt that I wish the cloth returned and so have advised them.[1] If these be well sold we have put off here, in Agemere, and in Brampore this year to the quantity of 300 cloths and upwards; notwithstanding which I dare not to advise for above 200 pieces per annum. Of hides Musco [via], 500 per annum will sell; and kerseys a few. Hot waters, glasses, drinking and looking, spectacles, burning-glasses, swords, cony skins, knives, baize, pots and suchlike trumpery are mere idlenesses and commodities not fit for your Worships to deal in; and those which have encouraged your Worships to send of them have done ye so much wrong as that neither themselves nor friends can or ever will be able to recompense ye. For lead, tin, marfeelie,[2] vermilion and quicksilver, I refer you to those of Suratt, who have had experience of their sales, and advise your Worships to send thereof according to their this year's sales.

Fair pearls, ballast[3] rubies and emeralds of extraordinary great sizes surely would vend here to the King in infinite quantities; as also rich velvets unshorn and branched, shags, cloth of gold, silver, rich tapestries, satins, damasks, grogerans, chamblets and other the like silk stuffs, rich and pretty, would sell here in abundance; but I know their prices to be so great in England that I dare not advise for any quantities, only for some of each for musters and proofs. Of these things the King himself would buy for thousands, as he doth yearly of the Persia stuffs, and is the best paymaster in this country; and in these stuffs I think there would not be any loss. European velvets brought hither in times past by the Portingalls have been sold here for 16 rupees and 18 rupees per covado of $\frac{7}{8}$ yard; but now the prices of these things are not known, because there are none brought by any merchants. This King desireth unheard of and rare things, but such as are either rich or

[1] His fears were well-founded. The money was not forthcoming, and it became necessary to appeal to Roe to assist in its recovery (see *The Embassy*, p. 415).

[2] Ivory (Sp. *marfil*).

[3] *Balass*, ultimately from *Badakhshí*, *i.e.* of Badakhshán, whence these rubies came.

full of cunning, good art and work, which he can as well discern from bad as we ourselves, and careth as little for things of mean value; and as is the King, so are his subjects.

By letters lately received from Suratt, I understand of their resolutions for the dispeeding a ship for Jasques in Persia; whereof I do so little approve as that (under correction) I much doubt the good success of the voyage. Howsoever wish your Worships prosperity in all your affairs, and do only fear that your Worships will hardly be able for want of means to send hither ready money (the only staff of these Eastern trades) to maintain this trade with credit and as it ought, much less the Persian trade to any purpose, which will yearly require for its establishing and continuance on good terms a greater quantity of ready specie than this, and when all is done will prove as intricate and full of inconveniences as this, yea and far less beneficial, and as little hope to be expected thence for vent of our English commodities. Yea and here so little that I think your Worships will soon be weary of this also, especially the infinite charge of four ships lying yearly here 5 or 6 months for the guard of one, and other things considered, the durance whereof upon news of the carrack's firing will soon be discerned; which with other things I refer to your Worships' consideration and to the relation and advices of those whom it more concerns, desiring chiefly to give account of my own actions and time spent.

For state businesses, as passages at Court, presents requisite to be sent, establishing of new factories, dissolving of those already erected and suchlike, as matters exceeding the limits of my capacity I refer you to my Lord Ambassador's relation and advice, who through his profound judgment and experience in these material points is best able of any in these parts to acquaint you of the needfuls; and in default to theirs of Suratt, of whose proceedings, determinations, counsels and resolutions themselves have only been partakers, we inlanders altogether ignorant.

Nicholas Ufflett[1] left this country 14 rupees in my debt and Nicholas Withington[2] 90 rupees, lent them out of my purse here; which I beseech your Worships to cause to be stopped out of their salary, and the benefit thereof, having bills to show for the same.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 299.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

And so, fearing I have been over troublesome in detaining your Worships so long, I cease for the present; and, with the remembrance of my duty, I also pray for your prosperity in all your affairs and negotiations.

Your faithful servant,

Francis Fettiplace.

Agra, the 26 November, 1616.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Committees for the Honourable East India Company these be dd., London.

Endorsed: Francis Fettiplace in Agra, the 26 November, 1616. Received by the Peppercorn.

410

Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Thomas Smythe.[1]

From the way; midnight, 27 November, 1616.

SIR, An hour after I had sealed my letter[2] to you in the way, the long-expected messenger returned from Spahan whom I despatched with my letters overland and with one to the Sha-bas,[3] in answer of which William Robbins returned me a letter, the material points whereof I send you. He promiseth hope of trade to profit, but withal saith Sir Robert Shirly hath confirmed at Goa a peace with the Viceroy. But, Sir, the sum is this: except the Sha-bas be assured that we will fetch all his commodity by sea, he will not lose his other ways; and this ship now sent in the heat of his expectation, with such goods as are not pleasing to him, will disgrace our great promises and hopes. If he take any dislike and think this is our utmost, or at least a sample of our best commodities, he will reject us quite and cast off all thought of

[1] This is the original letter, in Roe's own hand. There is a copy in Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115 (f. 149). See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 352, where the letter has already been printed, though not quite at full length.

[2] See Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 147.

[3] Sháh Abbas. Roe's letter to him is given in *The Embassy* (p. 132). It was enclosed in a letter to William Robbins, an English jeweller living at Ispahán, who was asked to get it translated and present it to the Sháh.

us; and either the more constantly resolve to go through with the Spaniard, or to make peace with the Turk. One of them he must do. If I had been made privy to the purpose of your servants at Suratt in sending a ship to Jasques, I could have prevented the hazard they run; but you may now see their haste and lack of respect to me. If I left them as they are, it were just; but I am to account to you, and therefore by the assistance of this Ambassador[1] I will speedily write to the King and certify him the reason of this ship's arrival, that was not fitted for Persia, but only put in to see the port and to show our forwardness. I will entreat a contract for trade, that silk may be sent down for trial and that these goods may be vented, and that he will be pleased to give me directions for such lading as will fit him. Two things I warn you of in this trade: that to bring up your goods and fetch down theirs at your own charge 1,000 mile, I find by experience here, will eat up your profit; and though the heart of Persia be quieter and better governed, yet the way to Jasques is through Lar,[2] that is scarce in good obedience and subject to the robberies of the Balooches; therefore all caravans must have great guards of horse, and this mars the traffic of merchants and leaves it only fit for the King's power to effect. The second thing is that you be not engaged at Jasques in the same trouble and charges you are at in Suratt: for I am informed the road is worse, open to Ormus (not above five leagues distant), so that you must be enforced to maintain a fleet for defence of the trader, or hazard her yearly. These two considerations made me doubtful of sending yet, where was so small ground of profit, or if any, it is not worth charge. And whensoever the Turk and Persian make peace (for their wars are too monstrous to continue) this trade will be again diverted, for the Turk will not make any conclusion but with the liberty of the free and ancient intercourse of trade. And observe one thing well: the parts of Persia that vent cloth (which in Steele's judgment will not exceed 500 a year, a small matter, and the rest will be expected to be supplied in money) are the same that produce the silk and are nearest Turky, as Gordgestan[3] and Gilan; and to those parts cloth can be brought cheaper by

[1] The Persian Ambassador at Court. [2] Laristán. [3] Georgia.

Aleppo than by Jasques, the voyage at sea and land both shorter; and consequently silk will return cheaper the same way, and that in time will turn back the passage. But I would not discourage you in that I so extremely desire, but only let you know that we seek it not right from England nor with English commodities; for it will never be a trade except you can undertake for a great quantity, whereof the numbers of cloth specified will not be an eighth part. And I cannot learn that anything in England will succour it; but that it must rise from the southward by calicoes, baftas, shashes, spices, rubies of Pegu and suchlike, with some money. The use can be made with you of this ship is that, seeing Sir Robert Shirly hath been stayed at Goa by God's providence this year, that His Majesty will be pleased to command his Ambassador resident in Spain to be attentive upon the arrival of Shirly, that when he hath delivered his message (which I assure you he had instructions for before his coming out of Europe) he may require an audience and take notice of the Persian overture, and require the King of Spain in the name of His Majesty not to prejudice the subjects of England by this new contract, for that the Persian hath already, by his command sealed, given them free trade, and upon assurance thereof you have sent a ship: that it is a free kingdom, and if the peace or league be made to the expulsion of our nation, it is a just occasion of breach, at least a great discourtesy; and withal to declare that if they proceed to exclude us they must resolve of a war in that quarter, for if they[1] cannot trade like merchants, they[1] will like men of war, and then perhaps our share may be as good as theirs. Thus will I tamper with the Sha-bas, to keep him from a resolution; for whatsoever the factors think, I am peremptory in opinion all is lost and in vain until the issue of Shirley's employment be broken and a contract made for an ample trade to come down to the port, at the Persian's charge, for all the silk is his and whensoever he can be sure to pass it any way but by Turky, he will readily embrace it. This is my opinion, which I submit to you; and, however the factors love to run without me, I will look out to mend their faults, and, like patient Job, pray and sacrifice for them as he did for his sons, whiles they banquetted.

[1] 'You' in the copy.

I pray, Sir, remember my love to Sir James Lancaster and do me the favour to communicate to him this and my former opinions and discourses concerning Persia, both in my journal and letters. I promised them to him, but I can write no more than I have, nor in one letter so amply; and for the ceremony of not writing, he will forgive me, when he hath the substance and the assurance of my respect to him by you presented.

With this letter of Robbins' I received a great packet with three letters and divers bills in Italian directed to Lahor, but sealed. Robbins in his to me, whether out of single truth, receiving them from the English consul at Aleppo, he thought it might be somewhat concerning me, though subscribed in Italian, or whether, to endear himself to me, he knew they concerned a trade driven by a partnership for India which I would be glad to know, and so put them into my hands, as it were by ignorance; but what the meaning was, it was odd; for the messenger came through Lahor which brought them, and being in my packet, Robbins signified he had put them, supposing there might be some for me, desiring me to send back the rest, which in and out have lost six months. Yet this made me open them. I found nothing but an Italian business directed to a Venetian merchant called Giovanni Galicio and in case of his death to a Jesuit supposed to reside there, but lately departed for Goa; and finding Bartholomew Haggat[1] interested in the business, thought I would not open the letters, yet I overlooked in certain bills the effect of the whole, which because I know not how it may concern the Company or any other private man of the Company, I have sent you a brief note of the several papers, whereby you may perceive there is a trade driven from Aleppo overland; and the sums and goods mentioned in the particulars are very great. Which because no man here but myself could either read or understand Italian, I took short notes. The originals are 13 sheets of paper, which I read except three sealed. If it be of no use there is no harm done. I will send them speedily to Lahor and I desire you to keep it secret and to burn the note; for if it be known, we lose the help of the Consul and Robbins, though he caused me to open the packet.[2]

[1] English consul at Aleppo.

[2] On all this, see *The Embassy*, p. 341.

This lieger in Spahan was Arnold Lull's servant, and I believe is out with his master. He hath no matter in him but language; in that I think no Englishman equals him: French, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Persian and some others. I trust him not much, for that he is Shirly's procurator, but yet I find he would fain interest himself into your service, hoping so to compound and to return to his country by your credit; and to that end I think he would deliver up all Shirly's business into my bosom and betray him; but he is not worth it. Only I show you what use you may make of him if you please.

Thus, Sir, I beseech you deliver me to the Committees, for I am weary on the way and write on my knees. You shall ever find me faithful to you, industrious according to my capacity, and

Your true, affectionate son and friend to serve you,

Tho. Roe.

Endorsed: Sir Thomas Roe to Sir Thomas Smyth, from Adsmir, the 27 November, 1616. Received by the Globe, the 5 of September, 1617. Read in Court, September 9, 1617. Trade discovered from Aleppo to Persia and India overland by Italians and some English. No matter of Mr. Steele.

411

Sir Thomas Roe to the East India Company.[1]

December 1, 1616.

HONOURED Friends, I have deferred to write you my full judgment of some particular to this day, that I might inform myself fully of it, which I could not do until your caravan dispeeded from Agra[2] with goods this year were come near me, that I might speak with Robert

[1] This is also an original, signed and addressed by Roe, though the body of the letter is in the hand of his secretary, Heynes. A copy will be found at f. 153 of Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115. For another (and more important) letter of this time from Roe to the Company, see *The Embassy*, p. 342.

[2] See p. 240.

Young, whose plainness is content to tell me true what passeth and to discover that which others are unwilling I should know. And for his particular, according to his skill he is a fellow that is very honest and direct; what faults he committed were rather Mr. Edwards' than his, who was his superior.

But to the business. Your goods are this day short of Adsmere 15 courses[1] and cannot arrive in Suratt before the end of January. The charge is so unreasonable that I doubt not it will make evident the truth of my opinion for the disposition of factories. I have looked into the account, and the expense only of your factors (besides their wages) with the hire of camels, guards and other charge on the way before they arrive at Suratt will cost you 500*l.* sterling; and until the investment there was not taken, by residence there, one rupy. I assure you it is the like at Amadavaz in proportion, for every factory keeps servants, horses, and several houses; which, being once yearly supplied from Suratt, might in three months effect all the business. If the Court remove to Agra, in respect of sales it will be necessary to keep servants, and at Brampore during the war; but otherwise it will never pay horsemeat. And you had need save all unnecessary disbursements to advance your stock for time of employment.

Whereas you write for new factories, except the silk of Bengala require it (which yet in my opinion is had cheaper at Agra than you will find it there, to maintain a factory for it, being this people travel and live hardlier than yours can) I am of opinion your residences are sufficient, and best chosen as they are; and the disposure of them I have mentioned in my last to the Consultation at Suratt, but what credit it will carry I know not. But I will lay this as a rule: you will sooner want stock to employ in these places than new residences to buy in. Agra alone sends twenty or thirty thousand chourlles[2] yearly to Persia and Turky; many have three or four years' indigo on their hands. The semianoes are in abundance and cheap; the silk of Bengala plenty at reasonable rates; musk, civet, and many sorts of pretty stuffs which you never saw, made in Bengala and other parts, which in my opinion would make good profit. Amadavaz alone is able to

[1] The "course" (*kos*) was $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles.

[2] For a note on the *churl* (of indigo), see vol. iii., p. 336.

lade you two great ships, and makes many stuffs; Cambaya near it, with fine grograms or chamletts; and Baroch is the best cloth[1] in India, for though Bengala and Syndu have as fine, yet it is far-fetched, and here you may bespeak what sorts you will, what length, breadth and fineness, and buy it from the loom at the best hand. So that in conclusion you may employ a treble stock to that you send, in these places only, to the best advantage every way. And for sales of such gross goods as teeth, lead and cloth, the Court only will vent the one, and Suratt the other in quantities. Tin, if it be fine, is better sold than lead; I know not if you send any, for I could never yet see any of your invoices or commissions.

Another rule is that you dispose your factors in your commissions so to sort the buying of goods as they consider the places; to fit commodities of greatest bulk, that eats much in carriage, nearest your port; finer goods will better bear the charge. And this they ought to observe in disposition of places for sales; for your transport up and down is a terrible charge, when you cast it up. Make your observation only of these goods bought now at Agra and on the way.

I will venture one conceit of mine own: that if silk at Agra be fit for your profit, and semianoes and other small goods, that all your Court stock be employed in them and no indigo. For although the finest be there to be had, yet the charge is untolerable, to bring it two months' journey; and the people of this country can transport it much cheaper than you, and would, if that course were once begun to buy it off their hands at Suratt. You had better give 4 rupias in a maund more for it there than at Agra; the carriage only of a fardle is 5 or 6 rupies down, besides peons and expense on the way, and many petty duties. To effect this I could wish you gave order to try one year, and to forbear buying at Agra and to fit yourselves in Suratt; though you paid dear it will quit the cost. There is to be had a ship's lading of the best sorts of old indigo that lies in the hands of chapmen to sell for the Red Sea; which if the English took off, and they once saw you begin that course, and the other forborne, you should be

[1] Best *for* cloth?

fitted at better rates, your travel and expenses considered, than you can be at Agra; for you bear much loss in passage down and your goods often take damage. I assure you this is a better course than you yet think of; and though perhaps some may be against it, yet consider that men love to live at liberty and to travel. The place unseen is ever best, and that desire prevails upon many men's judgments. But if there be no remedy but to continue this course, then let me persuade you to command your servants to send down your goods by cart and not by camel. One will carry three of the other's load and will travel farther in a day; for the camel lading and unlading with so little help hath but five hours to go, the cart (which is never unladen) will march all day. Besides it is a third cheaper in the hire; they require not so many attendants; and your goods take no harm, whereas from camels they often fall and every night at unlading catches bruises to great loss; your goods I know will be in condition 100*l*. better. And, lastly, less subject to thieves, who can slip a camel behind a bush, in so great numbers not easily missed, and one man cannot look to five or six always.

Lastly, command to bring you of all sorts of stuffs two or three pieces. As far as I am able, I will buy of everything somewhat; and if I lose by them, you I hope will ease me. Here are many sorts and many kinds of calicoes which you never saw, and one like diaper, of great breadth fit for tables, and narrow, for towels suitable.

It is in vain for me to talk to your factors of these matters. They either love not that I should understand it, or else cross it because I do. But I could save you so much yearly by disposition only of your business (if you durst credit me) as would buy you 500 chuorls of indigo. When I come home I will discourse it largely. In the meantime, I pray only compare the charge of way of this caravan of 170 camels with others far less, and you shall find it is in the husbandry of your servants to ease many expenses.

My freedom in your business I desire you to take in good part. And for your privileges I will so watch you shall sustain no wrong in silence, nor, I hope, without redress. The past year is a good

example. And what I write, when you have considered it, make it not public. So in haste, on the way, I commit you to God.

Your assured friend,

Tho. Roe.

Addressed: To my Honoured Friends the Governor and Committees for the East India Company.

Endorsed: Sir Thomas Roe to the Governor and Committees. No mention of Mr. Steele in this letter. Received the 5 September by the Globe. Extr[acted].

412

John Totten to Benjamin Farie, at Siam.
Firando, this 4th December, 1616.

LOVING and kind friend Mr. Farie, I heartily salute you, being glad to hear of your good health and prosperity.

The day of our departure from Potania was the day after you, arriving in Bantam the 25th of March following, where Mr. Gourney with the rest of us were disappointed of our hopes of going for the Coast, I mean Mesalopotania. Captain Jordaine by no means would yield unto it until he heard of the Solomon; so that we discharged all and were despatched away for Tecco to see the estate of the Hector, who was much feared by reason of her long stay.[1] But being without the straits of Sonday on our voyage for Tecco, were forced in again by foul weather, which continued eight or ten days; when setting forward again in the straits I met the Expedition, one of General Keeling's fleet, Captain Payton captain of her, whose order was not to stay at Bantame but to despatch away for Tecco; which order caused me to go in or return for Bantame again, where it was determined we should go for Jappan. So delivering our

[1] Added in the margin: 'The *Hector* arrived in Bantam before my departure.'

goods into the Expedition, we took in our old lading, with some other that was provided for us. So the last of May we departed Bantam, and arrived in Ferando the 13th of July following, where I found the Thomas from Bantam by the way of Molluckos; and Captain Adames arrived some six or seven days after me in the junk.

Now for that I know you would be desirous to hear the news of General Keelinge at Suratt, you shall understand in brief that they[1] found the two former years so hot that their stomach was full, and so were very quiet; lading the Lion, a ship of 500 tons, with indigo and other rich goods. Captain Cox with Captain Adames is returned from the new Emperor this morning, but cannot be permitted to sell any goods aloft as formerly they were wont (all Christians being banished from aloft) and must keep in Ferando only, for that they cannot endure the Spanish priests, who are all to be banished out of the country.

The junk which Mr. Saires was in arrived in Shasmo, some 40 or 50 leagues short of Ferando, arriving so late that she was not expected this year.[2] So that it was thought fit Mr. Willmott should go to assist Mr. Saires; who hath been there and is returned, to whose letter I refer you for that business, he best understanding how the case there standeth with Mr. Saires, from whom I received a letter (although a stranger to me), by which, as also by Mr. Willmott, I understand your love and kind remembrance unto us, by which with your former love you have much obliged us unto you; which, God willing, I shall not be unmindful of, being heartily sorry that some occasion or other doth not present wherein I might manifest mine affection unto you.

Some four hours after the arrival of Captain Cox, Mr. Sayres arrived from Shasmo; but the present departure of the junk will not permit me to enlarge, being at present not perfect in health, but, I thank God, on the mending hand.

I pray you remember my love to Mr. Houltman, Mr. Savege, Mr. Pitt and the rest our good friends. Thus beseeching God to bless you in health and in all your proceedings, do for present commend you to the loving mercies of the Lord, and rest

Ever your assured friend to power,

John Totten.

[1] The Portuguese.

[2] See Sayers' letter in the Appendix.

The junk will be ready to depart from this place for Syam within these three or four days, by Captain Cox' saying.

Addressed: To his very good friend Mr. Benjamin Farie, principal of the English nation in Syam, dd. By a friend, whom God bless.

Endorsed: Received the 18th of January, 1616 [1617], by Peter Johnson, Dutchman.

413

Protest of the factors at Jask against Alexander Child, master of the James.[1]

Anno Do. 1616, the 10th of December, in the road of Jasques, aboard the ship James.

EDWARD CONNOCKE, Thomas Barker, George Pley, Edward Pettus, William Bell, William Tracie and Mathew Pepwell, servants to the Honourable Company the Merchants of England trading the East Indies, being by a late consultation held in Surat the 6th of October past[2] appointed for managing the said Company's affairs intended for Persia, and being arrived in the foresaid road in the ship the James, understanding by conference had with the Governor ashore, that the chiefest Governor (to whom we are to address ourselves for procurement of safe landing our goods) is resident eight days' journey hence, to whom some of us are appointed speedily to repair: and because there must necessarily some time extraordinary be spent until we shall be able to obtain our despatches from that Governor and return to

[1] For the voyage of the *James* from Surat to Jask and back, see the extracts from Child's journal given in the I.O. Records (*Marine Records*, xviii) and in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 606); also an account written by Geo. Pley in Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2121, which contains a copy of the above protest. The Portuguese made a futile attempt to intercept her (Bocarro's *Decada XIII.*, c. 165).

In consequence of this protest, Child delayed his departure from Jask until the 20th January.

[2] See p. 193.

this place to land our goods and merchandise, according to the true intent and cause of our coming hither: out of this consideration of unexpected waste of time through the cause aforesaid by us duly considered, and having withal understood from Captain Alexander Child, master of the said ship, and by him been showed a certain commission dated the 6th of November, 1616,[1] under the hand and seal of Captain Henry Pepwell, now chief commander of the fleet of which the James (out of England) came rear-admiral, therein authorizing and expressly commanding the said Alexander Child, master, and in his absence Anthony Fugas, in some particulars most damageable to the Company's affairs in this business and quite contrary to the instructions and orders by the said Company given from England and directed to the chief commander and his council of that voyage, so known to be by some of us that were of that fleet and of that consultation appointed, being also contrary to our consultations held at Suratt and our commission given from thence, of which the said Captain Henry Pepwell had communication and full knowledge: We hereupon (to the Company's behoof) duly considering the premisses of the said commission to the master, Alexander Child, granted as before, together with the many dangers thereon depending, if by the said master it be respected and put in execution, do therefore in discharge of our duties to the said Company, our masters, in their name hereby annul and fully disable the said commission of the 6th of November, except in the matter of government of your men and ship, and the like in that of your defence and offence of such as shall assail you; willing and requiring you in the name of the Honourable Company that you desist from observing any the counts therein specified except in the fore-excepted.

And further we require you, in the name of the Company aforesaid, that you here in this road stay and expect such despatch, as well in landing as lading our goods, as we, your merchants appointed, shall see fitting, together with the despatch of letters and what else shall occur requisite to the Company's behoof, and as is by all other their masters and

[1] See p. 225.

commanders of ships observed throughout their employments; always provided that wind and weather, assault of your enemies, and the like urgent and unavoidable causes do not enforce the contrary.

But if you Mr. Childe, and in your absence you Mr. Fugas, shall, either by virtue of that commission of the 6th of November, or out of any other cause moving, contrary hereunto do, we do hereby protest against you both, that as well all your entertainments and salary which from that Honourable Company is or shall be to you due for your service, as all other your estates and fortunes, when and wheresoever, to be liable in action to answer to the Company our masters aforesaid, for any such your neglect, contempt or contradiction in the premisses.

Edw. Connok.
Tho. Barker.
Geor. Pley.
Edw. Pettuss.
William Bell.[1]
Will. Tracy.
Matthew Pepwall.

Endorsed: The protest of the factors at Jasques against Alexander Childe, master of the James, at Jasques, 1616.

414

Richard Cocks to John Browne at Patani.

Firando in Japon, the 16th of December, 1616.

MR. BROWNE, Your letter, dated in Pattanya the 14th of June[2] (sent per Mr. Wm. Johnson) came to my hands in Firando the 17th of July following; perceiving thereby of the death of Mr. Larkyn, for which I am heartily sorry, yet we cannot withstand the good pleasure of God. Also I perceive (per your said letter) how you received

[1] It is interesting to note that the tomb of this factor (who was Agent at the time of his death, 24 February, 1624) was still standing at Julfa in 1865, when Sir Frederic Goldsmid copied the Latin inscription (see his *Telegraph and Travel*, p. 562).

[2] Not extant. Cocks notes its receipt in his *Diary* (vol. i., p. 154).

mine per way of Syam, with the three others thereinclosed for Mr. Gourney, Mr. Antonison, and Mr. Denton,[1] the which you write me you will see conveyed unto them, for the which I give you thanks, and marvel that the jar of biscuit came not with the letters, if fit conveyance were offered.

And as touching the Hollanders' words, who reported the death of so many Englishmen in the Osiander, it is a mere fable, for I understand not of the death of any one man in her betwixt this and Bantam, but of a Caffro[2] which I sent in her, he being sick of the French disease before he went from hence.

And as touching your expectation of an English ship to come for this place that would touch at Pattanya, I think you were deceived; yet there is two English ships come to Firando this year, viz. the Thomas, per way of the Molucos, wherein Mr. Richard Rowe is come master, and the Advice directly from Bantam, wherein Mr. John Totton is master; each of them having brought a small cargazon of English commodities, amongst which are gallipots, looking-glasses, table-books and thread, which here will not vent at any rate, much less yield such great sums of plate as our honourable employers expect from hence. Once I know not where to lay the fault; only I ensure you I am aweary of the place, and were it not for extraordinary hope to get trade into [China], I would rather depart from hence to-night than tarry till to-[morrow ?]. And therefore I pray you use all Chinas kindly and with respect, and [especially ?] if you think them of the better sort; for I am certainly [informed ?] that the Emperor of China hath sent spies into all these pa[rts of] the world where the English, Dutch, Spaniards and Portingales do [trade ?] to see their demeanours and how they behave themselves towards the [China] nation. This I write you is no fable, but truth, yet keep it to yourself.

I marvel your factory is so bare as you advise me, and I persuade myself it is not yet bettered, and therefore small hope of any [pepper ?] from you for this place. Yet if you had sent any pepper this year, it had come to the best market that any pepper came this seven years, as it might have been sold at 9 and 10 taies per pico; and wax at 20 taies the pico, if it be good.

[1] See vol. iii., pp. 248, 249; and *supra*, p. 209.

[2] See note on p. 112.

Yet have we had much trouble [in] these parts per means of the death of Ogosho Samme, the old Emperor, in whose place Shongo Samme, his son, succeeds. So that [I] was forced to go to his Court to get our privileges renewed, which voyage I was above four months before I returned to Firando, which was but 10 or 12 days past. And yet, do what I could, our privileges are curtailed and we restrained to have trade but only at this town of Firando and Langasaque. So that we are forced to withdraw our factories from Edo, Miaco, Osakay and Sackay, not without great hindrance to the present sale or despatch of our commodities. Yet we are not out of hope to have it amended the next year upon our supplication, the Council answering us now that an Emperor's [edict ?] so lately passed out cannot so suddenly be recalled without [scandal] ; with which answer we must rest content at present; [also the Dutch ?]. The only occasion of this alteration (as the Council informed me) is by reason of the Jesuits and Padres (as they call them), whom are secretly crept into all parts of Japon to make them Christians and baptize them; which the Emperor will not permit, but looketh out narrowly after them. In fine I might not be suffered to leave an English boy[1] behind me to learn the Japon tongue, it is so strictly looked unto. I have been over long herein, only to certify you of the truth.

The junk Sea Adventure arrived here this year laden with red-wood and skins. The wood we have sold at divers prices from 24 to 28 mas per picoll, and the skins betwixt 20 and 28 tais the 100 skins; and had they not been overmuch eaten with worms, they had all been sold at above 30 taies per cento. There was goods also laden for the Worshipful Company in two other junks, as red-wood in the one and deerskins in the other. But for that with the deerskins, as yet we have no news of her; and the other, with the wood, after above three months tossing at sea arrived in Xaxma, most of the company being dead, and had it not been for Mr. Edmund Sayer, an English merchant, who under God was her best pilot, she had never come into Japon.[2] To prevent which inconvenience hereafter we have now sent two English pilots in the said junk Sea Adventure we sent the last year, Mr. Wm. Eaton

[1] Richard Hudson (Cocks's *Diary*, vol. ii., p. 282). [2] See pp. 267, 354.

going for merchant in her, and one Skidazen Dono, a Japon, for captain, with a cargazon of goods as Mr. Farrye advised for; and sent these two pilots in respect they may come in other vessels if need require.

We have sold some part of our commodities as followeth, viz.:—

Broadcloth, black, stamet, and straw-colour, at several prices	from 10 to 17 tais tattamy.
Baize of like colours	from 3½ to 5 tais tattamy.
Lead	from 6 to 7 tais picol.
Steel	from 20 to 30 tais picol.
Tin	from 30 to 40 tais picol.
Silk for	310 tais the picol.

All our silk and lead is sold at these rates, but not all the rest. And the wood which came to Xaxma in the junk is now newly come thence and not yet sold. We doubt the junk with the skins is cast away, they being 4,560 skins. Thus in brief have I advised you of our proceedings here.

I have advised our honourable employers of the great charges we are at in fitting out junks with Japon mariners, which do in a manner carry away the half of their goods per means of their large privileges[1]; so that if it might be contrived to carry your skins and wood from Syam to Pattanya and there to put them into an English ship of great burthen to bring them for Japon (as the Hollanders do), then need we not to set any Japon junks a-work. Neither had the Dutch sent a junk this year to Syam, but that they took her a prize the last year. That which maketh me to doubt of freighting a ship from Pattanya is the great anchorage I understand you pay there,[2] which if you could use means to amend, then the rest might the better be performed.

And as touching your advice of two great ships laden from Surat for England, I am advised but of one, which is a new ship of some 400 tons, called the Lion. Also I am advised that an English knight, called Sir Thomas Rowe, is sent from the King's Majesty of England ambassador to the Grand Mogull; and that in His Majesty's name of England hath proclaimed wars[3] against the Portingals of Goa and the rest of that nation in the East

[1] See p. 150. [2] Cp. vol. ii., pp. 44, 79. [3] See p. 133.

Indies, in respect of the divers attempts they have made against our ships at Suratt; and that since General Keeling hath taken three Portingalle ships coming in his way to Bantam. God grant there never come worse news to town.

In my absence at the Japon Court (the bark Jaccatra going away) Mr. Wm. Nealson and Mr. John Osterwick tell me they wrote you[1] how matters stood in these parts, with the arrival of the Thomas and Advice, and sending the junk Sea Adventure again this year for Syam.

This is all I have to advise of for the present; and so, with my commendations to yourself and the rest of our countrymen with you (although unknown), I leave you with your affairs to the blessed protection of the Almighty; resting

Your loving friend at command,

Ric. Cocks.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. J [ohn Bro] wne, Principa for the English nation [in] the factory of Pattania, be this [delivere] d at Pattania. Per way of Syam, in the Sea Adventure, per Mr. Wm. Eaton, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Received 25 August, 1617, Pattyny (?)

415

Edward Connock and Council to Alexander Child at Jask.
Tuesday, the 17th of December, 1616, two days' journey short of Mogustan.[2]

WE commend us heartily unto you, etc. We wrote you yesterday a small ticket by a Banian, advising you only of our well-being. But now of a matter, as we suppose, more consequent. By a messenger by the Governor sent to Magustan, which we this day met in his return,

[1] See p. 181.

[2] Apparently 'Mogustan' is the modern Mínau or Mínáb, a town about fifty miles east of Bandar Abbás, and a dozen miles inland. The *Mercatoris Atlas* of 1612 shows it in this position, calling it 'Mochestan.'

the Governor is informed (and hath advised us) that upon this news of our coming the Portingall is providing two galleys and 12 frigates with intent to assail your ship. This is all their strength at this time by sea which as yet we can understand of, but at our arrival at Magustan we will procure full information in that particular, and speedily inform you, if it be needful. How true the relation of this Portugal preparation will prove we know not; for our parts we give little credit thereto; yet, as it is neither policy nor discretion to contemn the advice of least probability and from baser persons, so is it fitting to give you to understand fully in the premisses. And albeit we know your care in your charge to be great and every way worthy, yet upon this report we friendly put you in mind that you be very careful in your boats' and people's passage to and from the shore, that you take such times that they may go and come by daylight, when from your ship you may discover if any frigate should lie in wait to intercept you. We must withal consider that the Portingall doth well understand the road of Jasques and may with those galleys and frigates hinder us from landing our goods, thinking by that means to put us off from trade and ruin our designs. If we find it so upon our arrival at Magustan we will then speedily despatch some one or more of us to your ship, to the end you may (when any force shall come in the interim of the treaty of our business) set sail for a port which lieth thwart of Ormuse, called Gombran, which is the best harbour in all Persia, and where ships of any burden may ride under the command of a strong fort, a town peopled with upwards of 2,000 families and within a day journey of Magustan, the chief city of this province. Thither do resort all the merchants of India, Persia and Turkie, a free receptacle for trade, and for our purpose most secure and convenient for many other consequential considerations of benefit and honour thereon depending, which we will relate unto you at our coming.[1]

And so till next we commend you to God and to His merciful

[1] An interesting account of Gombroon (Bandar Abbás), the future headquarters of English trade in the Gulf.

protection, not without our commendations to Captain Fugas and our fellow merchants.

Your loving friends to command,

Edw. Connok.
Tho. Barker.
Geor. Pley.
William Bell.
William Tracy.

Pray show not this letter but to the discreetest sort.

Addressed: To our worthy and loving friend Captain Alexander Child, master of the James, these dd. in the road of Jasques.

Endorsed: 17 December, 1616. Direction from the factors in Persia unto Alexander Child in the ship James to lie with his ship at a place called Gombran (thwart of Ormuse), which is a secure harbour under a castle; but this was countermanded by a new direction dated the 26 of December, 1616,[1] and therein was ordered the ship should go for other ports to discharge.

416

Consultation of the Factors in Persia, December 17th, 1616.[2]

AT a Consultation held the 17th of December, 1616, present, Edw. Connocke, chief, Tho. Barker, George Pley, William Bell, William Tracy, in their journey to Mugustaun, it was there propounded by Edw. Connocke, and so consulted and determined, that in regard of an information given by the Governor of Jasques (who came to accompany and conduct us to the Governor of this province resident at Mogustaun) that the Portingales at Ormus intended speedily with 12 sail of frigates and 2 galleys to assail our ship the James, now riding at Jaskes, of which having yesterday advised the master, Alexander Childe, thereby to prepare his ship in their expectation, having now more maturely considered that the Portingales, well knowing the strength of our ship,

[1] See p. 273. [2] For another copy, see Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2121, f. 104*b*.

discovered by a frigate of theirs, which about the 26th of the last month, taking us for a Portingale ship, came near and narrowly escaped our reprisal, and now arrived at Ormus, as we are by the said Governor of Jasques also informed through means of letters he, the said Governor, this day received from Mogustaun; we, thinking that the Portingales are a people too discreet and knowing to attempt our ship with so small a force, do assure ourselves that they rather intend to lie betwixt our ship and the shore, whereby they may both cut us off from landing our goods, from water, ballast, and in truth enforce our ship's departure thence. But most especially having considered that we, the principal merchants appointed for the managing and settling of this employment, being this far onwards in our journey to the Governor, and eight days' journey from the ship, the Portingales lying there may hinder us from going or sending to the ship or they to us, whereby the ship will want direction to proceed. That therefore, having duly considered this particular, we have thought meet, and hereby determined that if the Portingales shall prevent our passage to and from the shore as before, that the ship with all convenient speed do weigh and stand into the Gulf and sail directly for Gombraun, the best port or harbour in all Persia, well fortified and under the Persian's command, right over against the town of Ormus as we are credibly informed, where we may despatch our affairs with much conveniency and great spare of charges, what otherwise we shall be able to do at Jasques. And thus accordingly being determined, it is also registered and underwritten and a commission to be drawn and sent to Edward Pettus, left aboard the ship for managing of our affairs, to be by him delivered to the master, Captain Alexander Childe, the same to effect accordingly.

Edw. Connok.
Tho. Barker.
Geor. Pley.
William Bell.
Will. Tracy.

According to the abovesaid consultation and determination held this present day, we do friendly request and in the Honourable Company our masters' behalf will and require you, Captain

Alexander Childe, or any other that shall succeed you if you should die (which God forbid), that in case the Portingales shall with their frigates hinder yours and our intercourse to and from the shore of Jasques, where you now ride: that then with such convenient speed and permittance of wind and weather as God shall give, and you in your discretion shall see fitting, you set sail with your ship the James, directing yourself to the port of Gombran, otherwise called Jyrun,[1] which lieth right over against the town of Ormus, within three leagues thereof; where you shall meet us for the despatch of our affairs in the Company's service to you and us entrusted. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Dated this 17th of December, 1616, within two days' journey of Mogustaun.

Edw. Connok.
Tho. Barker.
Geor. Pley.
William Bell.
Will. Tracy.

Endorsed: Copies of Councils in Persia, 1616.

417

William Eaton to Sir Thomas Smythe.

Firando in Japon, the 18th of December, 1616.

RIGHT Worshipful, My humble duty unto you remembered, etc. May it please your Worships to understand that my last letter I wrote unto you was dated in Miaco the 26th of November, 1615,[2] and sent by the Osiander; in which my said letter I wrote you at large of all matters, not doubting but that you have received it before this time, whereunto I refer me, etc.

Since which time you shall understand that we have made sale of most part of [the] goods or merchandises that the Osiander

[1] Jerun, the old name of Gombroon (Bandar Abbás). [2] Not extant.

brought us. At what prices they were sold for you may perceive by the account now sent you. I can see but small profit and benefit that is here to be made by any of our English commodities but only broadcloth and lead excepted, which two commodities are here best in request and will vent most, and will yield cento per cento profit. But we must have a year's time to make money of the said cloth. This country will not vent above 40 broadcloths a year, one and other; but of lead it will vent a good quantity every year. [It] will yield at least 6 tayes the pecull or 100 cattes, which is the price [the Emperor ?] gave us, who took of us this year at the said rate near upon [*two lines illegible*] that is, if so be the next year we cannot procure trade into the [country ?] of China, which I am in doubt of, that then it would be good we make prizes of them, as the Hollanders do, whom every year do bring hither a good quantity of silk and China stuffs, the which brings them in money.

Your Worships had come in the Advice this year some 337 cattes of Lanken silk, which cost at Bantam some 170 rials the 100 cattes, which here we sold for 312 taies the 105 cattes; so as I say if the factors there had sent us a good quantity of it we had sold it for good profit. We have formerly advised them to send us of silk what store they can; which if they do we can invest into money and send them it by the return of the ship to supply their wants withal.

The 23rd of June here arrived the Thomas, Richard Rowe master of her, and the 12th of July last there arrived the Advice, [John] Totten master of her, praised be God, in good safety. [*two lines illegible*] English broadcloth, baize, lead, tin, steel, and other several commodities. You have sent us in this cargazon of goods divers commodities that will never sell in Japon, as amber beads, hollands, Sleatia lawns, diaper, thread, [pictures], cony skins, gallipots, table-books, looking-glasses, spectacles. The pictures they were all spoiled by putting them face to face without oil papers betwixt them, that when we came to open them they were all spoiled. The maps [for] the most part were all likewise spoiled with the cockroaches. And as for [gad ?] steel, it is not here in request; we cannot sell any of it as yet. [Steel ?] which is in faggots will here sell; the Emperor bought of us ten

peculls of it [at] 20 tayes the pecull, which is a poor price, considering what it cost in [England?].

It should seem that your Worships were misinformed of the commodities you have now sent us; which I wonder at, for I assure you they are such commodities that will lie long by the walls; as gallipots, they are not now in request as heretofore they have been, for at our first coming hither they were worth a taye apiece, but now man[1] will give us a mas apiece.

The commodities that are here most in request are raw silk, China st[uffs], Syam wood, deerskins, fishskins, if they be good, likewise wax and pepper; [all?] which sort of goods will here vent some quantity, and especially Syam wood and deerskins; and to reasonable good profit if the said commodities be brought in your English ships, which may easily be brought to pass if your Worships please but to give order that a great ship of some five or six hundred tons may go every year to Patania and there to take in her lading, it being provided for and sent thither by the factors from Syam beforehand; which course the Hollanders take and have every year a great ship comes laden from Patania as aforesaid.[2] The 22nd of July last here arrived Captain Adames from Syam in the junk Sea Adventure, laden with wood and skins, viz. she brought of wood 2,350 peculs and of skins 3,700, which cost, the wood 7 mas and 3 cunderens per pecull Japan money, and the skins 95 mas the 100 skins Japan money. The wood we sold, part for 24 mas the pecull and the rest for 27 mas per pecull; the skins we sold, some at 222 mas 5 cunderens per 100 skins and other some at 26 tayes odd cunderens the 100. The skins were very ill-conditioned, being very much eaten with the worm, which [*one line illegible*].

The 17th of September last [arrived] Edmund Sayers in Shasma in a junk belonging to Chinas, being freighted in Syam for the account of your Worships. She brought in her some 850 peculls of Syam wood. She came into Shasma greatly distressed, both for want of a pilot and likewise for want of water, the men of her being for the most part dead, only 17 men remaining alive with Mr. Edmund Sayers, who, under God, was the occasion both of saving the junk and goods, for he that was pilot of her knew

[1] No man?

[2] Cp. p. 260.

nothing belonging to his charge; for instead of carrying the junk for Japan he carried her upon the coast of the Phillipenas. Your Worships have in another junk belonging to Japon 4,560 deer-skins and 328 tayes, which the captain of her is to pay here by a bill of exchange, but as yet we have no news of her. God of His mercy send us good news of her. I am at present bound to Syam in the junk Sea Adventure of your Worships and am ready to set sail, [having in her ?] two master's mates for pilots, the one out of the Thomas [and the other out of the Advice ?]. Their names are James Burgis and [Robert Burgis]. The reason that we carry two pilots [ ] in the Sea Adventure, the other to go pilot of a [ ] junk that we purpose to freight in Syam for to come to Japan.

We find a great ill-convenience by having Japan mariners to sail our junks, if so be we could help it, for that they have so great privileges as to lade so much goods in the junk, near one-third part of her lading, and pay not a penny freight for it, being here the custom of the country and is allowed them in all the junks of Japan[1]; which comes to a great matter, but we must do as the Dutch and other men do, or else to let our junk lie still, which we held not to be a good course. Wherefore I say it is better to have your goods brought from Syam and Pattania in your English shipping than in these scurvy junks.

Concerning our privileges here in Japon which was granted to Captain Sayers at his being here by the old Emperor, are now cut shorter by his son, who is now sole Emperor, his father now being dead, who died in April last. In the old Emperor his time we had free trade and commerce in all parts of Japan and no man to molest us; but now we cannot be suffered to trade into no part of Japan but at Firando and Langasaque, which are two places that we shall never sell our commodities at, unless it be silk and suchlike commodities. Mr. Richard Cock and myself have been at Edo with [the] Emperor, suing unto him at least two months for to have had our privileges renewed as large as they were before, but could not procure it by no means. All the rest of the articles are as the former [were ?], only this one article excepted, which is, and will be, a great hindrance unto us in our proceed-

[1] See pp. 150, 260.

ings. But we are in good hope to have it redressed the next year. It is so with all strangers as it is with us, for the [Emperor] will not have no strangers to remain aloft in his country, by the reason of the friars and Jesuits that he had banished out of his dominions, but many of them remaining still, disguised in the habits of merchants, going to and again, making of Christians; which the Emperor understanding of it would not suffer any stranger whatsoever to abide in any part of Japon but at the aforesaid two places. The three branches [of coral] which you sent for a trial, two of them were given unto the Emperor and the other branch was sold for [one tay ?] a mas weight of coral, which is

[*two lines illegible*]

all your good healths and prosperities, the which in His mercy [I pray God ?] to continue, if it be His good will and pleasure, etc.

Your Worships' servant to command,

William Eaton.

Addressed: To the Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor to the East India Company, this be dd. in London. Per the Thomas, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Mr. Wm. Eaton to Sir Thomas Smythe, of the state of trade in Japon.

418

Edward Wilmot[1] to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Laus Deo. Firandoe, December the 18th, 1616.

MR. BENJAMIN FARY. Sir, Your health and happiness of the Almighty desired.

My last unto you was of the 5th present,[2] sent you per Mr. Johnson, master in the Dutch junk, wherein I have advised of what the time to that present did present. Since which it hath pleased Captain Cocke with his assistants to appoint

[1] See p. 132.

[2] Not extant.

Mr. Wm. Eatton to come merchant in her,[1] and likewise he is furnished with two English pilots out of us and the Thomas, and now being in readiness will, God willing, this day depart from hence. And I think that within ten days the Thomas will depart for Bantan; and within this 20 days I trust we shall depart for Bantan. And I do think that, God sending us thither in good time, we may haply come hither again the next year; which if prove no worse, I do not greatly care. But, blessed be the Lord, which way soever we go I shall be contented; for that God that brought me hither in safety will still be my protector in all my affairs. Amen.

At present for news here is little stirring; so refer you to my former, and report of this bearer, Mr. Wm. Eatton, who is one that hath given me just cause to be thankful unto him; for he hath made me here to be much engaged unto him for the good he hath done me. And I do entreat if occasion do present that you will be pleased to do him what courtesies you may, the which I doubt not of, and think that his own deservings will purchase your favour; for surely he is a true, honest man, and friend to his friend.

Mr. John Osterwicke salutes you; and concerning your bag of mace he had of yours, he sent it back the last year per Captain Coppindall in the Osiander, who hath delivered it in Bantam unto Mr. Wm. Sheppard for your use.[2] This much I did see in Captain Cox' letter unto Mr. Osterwicke. Concerning your enemy his report of you, here is but little credit given unto it, but this bearer can resolve of it. Captain Cocke is very desirous of a book that you have of Sir Walter Rawlye's, which if you would spare him he would take it very kindly at the price; and [if ?] any may be had at Bantam, or where I shall come, I will buy one for you. He told me he would write unto you[3] to spare it him, which [he ?] will take for a great favour. Surely he is a most faithful, honest man, and one surely that will wrong no man.

Per this bearer I have sent you a scrittore covered with leather and bossed with brass, containing 13 boxes with one jar

[1] The *Sea Adventure*, which carried this letter. [2] See pp. 185, 272.

[3] Under date of 19 December, 1616, Cocks mentions in his *Diary* a letter to Farie, but it is no longer extant.

of black beer,[1] which I do most heartily entreat you to accept of as a small remembrance of an unfeigned love unto you, and though the gift be simple and not to be esteemed of, yet I do entreat you to account the giver to be one of your poorest and most faithful friends; for, unfeignedly I speak it, I should be right glad to do you any service, and truly I doubt it nothing but that you do so conceive of me. God sending me for Bantam, I will send away my stones per the first good conveyance; for truly I long to be clear of them.

Thus with my prayers unto the ever living Lord to bless and keep you in all your proceedings. Amen.

Yours truly to power,
Edward Willmott,
P [urser].

I most heartily salute the ball of clay,[2] Mr. Johnson, Mr. Pitt, John Ferres, with all our countrymen in general.

Addressed: To his very good friend Mr. Benjamin Fary, Principal of the English nation, give these in Syam. By the junk Sea Adventure, whom God preserve.

Endorsed: Received the 20th of January, 1616 [1617].

419

John Osterwick to Benjamin Farie at Siam.

Laus Deo in Japon, the 19th of December, 1616.

LOVING Friend Mr. Fairie, I commend me very kindly unto you, wishing your health and prosperity. You shall understand that my last to you was by the conveyance of the small patache[3] of the Hollanders which saileth between Patania and Japon, who departed from this place

[1] It seems very doubtful whether any form of malt liquor can be referred to, unless, indeed, the Dutch factors had started brewing operations. If a native spirit is meant, Dr. Aston thinks it may have been *kuro-ki*, a dark-coloured *sake* used in the service of the Shinto gods.

[2] This seems to be a playful name for one of the Siam factors.

[3] Pinnace; see vol. iii., p. 335. The *Jacatra* is meant.

three months' since; wherein I gave you to understand of such matters as at that time offered to write, to the which I refer you.[1]

Now you shall understand that (leaving all other matters concerning the Captain's proceedings with the new Emperor, which I doubt not but the Captain and Mr. Eaton, who cometh in the junk, my very good friend, will not fail to advise you of) that concerning the sack of mace and 3 pieces of damask which I received of you in Patania,[2] I have disposed of them in this manner, viz. the mace for want of sale I sent back with Captain Coppendall to Bantam, where the worth of it is better known than in Japon, where they never use it nor know not what it is; from whom I received notice by a letter sent by Mr. Ed. Wilmott, purser of the Advice, that he had put the mace into Mr. Sheppard his hands for your use. The worst of your damask I sold by great chance for 2 t[ai]s, being it was a whole piece; one of the other I have made use of, being like to this piece which I now send you back per Mr. Eaton, which for their shortness and stains were not saleable. As for the piece sold and that taken for my own use, I have entreated Mr. Eaton to give you satisfaction, being sorry I could perform no better service for you.

If my being here in Japon can any way pleasure you, I pray you make use of me, wherein I shall not fail to do my endeavour. And thus for the present I end, committing you to the protection of the Almighty. Resting

Your loving friend,

John Osterwick.

Addressed: To his loving friend Mr. Benjamin Fayre, Cape Merchant of the English Factory in Syam, dd. these.

Endorsed: Received the 20th of January, 1616 [1617].

[1] For this letter, see p. 185. [2] See pp. 185, 270.

420

Edward Connock to Captain Alexander Child.
The 26th of December, 1616, from Costack.[1]

SIR, I very heartily commend me unto you, etc.

By former letters[2] I advised you of the Portingales' intention to you-wards, and in that respect, by general consultation and warrant, we requested that in such urgent occasion you would set sail for Gombraun; and this despatch I sent especially by our broker Janque.

We have since considered of many inconveniences and of much charge which by your ship's despatch at Jasques cannot be avoided, besides the power the Portingales have to intercept you and us to and from the shore. In these respects, especially the latter, we resolved anew[3] that your ship should come for Costacke, an open road ten leagues short of Ormus, there to make her discharge; when to give you the better satisfaction in any particular doubt which might arise, I have willingly undertaken, in company with Mr. Bell, this little pains extraordinary, not without some difficulty in the Sultaun and Governor of this province, as jealous of the intent of my personal departure. Yet so it is, and I am come onwards in my journey, not having spared (God forgive me) even Christmas day for travel. But having even now met with Janque with your letters of the 20th present,[4] I have yet again resolved to return for Mogustaun, there to take some other our merchants and to advise the Sultaun and Governor our intent of your despatch from Jasques, and to bring with me such able and strong camels as the country of Jasques affordeth not, to bring our cloth bales, which are great burthens, free from opening or lessening, which otherwise would be their damage and spoil. This I have resolved upon your advice of your discovery of that blessed bay to the eastwards of Jasques Road, a place, I hope, where upon necessity and in despite we shall be able to make our landing-place and discharge, free from Portingales' harm. So that boldly may we now say our Persian trade to be fully settled, howbeit to some extraordinary charge (in regard of the remoteness from the heart of the country), the which

[1] Kuhstak, a village on the coast between Gurú and Mínau. [2] See p. 261.
[3] On December 24 (*Egerton MS.* 2121, f. 105*a*). [4] Not extant.

at this time we may not respect, considering as well the charge as speedy despatch of your ship to her other employments (consequences chiefly at this instant to be preferred). Another year I hope to settle even in the Portingales' bosom, in that hopeful and glorious port of Gombraun, some few leagues opposite to Ormus, and there (some one year before my departure this country) to enjoy you and my worthy countryman Captain Fewgars in this our now begun (and I hope) worthy employment in our country's good under our direction.

In the meantime, as well in the name of our honourable patrons as in my own particular, I do thank you for your much care and diligence in this their service. I commend your care, and their discretions in the choice of so worthy a servant and assistant, which (God willing) shall not sparingly to our worthy masters be related.

Ten or twelve days hence at farthest you may expect our coming, and in few days after to finish your despatch. Meantime I pray that as well your carpenter as boatswain, through your commands, may saw us some of our reprisal timber,[1] to inchest both our strong waters, sword-blades and pieces, and make into lesser burthens, and strong zenett good store to would our cloth.[2] Their pains extraordinary upon the Company's charge shall be rewarded.

Further I am to entreat that you deliver the Governor of Jasques by this bearer forty pounds English of your best powder, and seventy or eighty pounds or a hundredweight of lead, for which though this Sultaun and Governor hath requested and promised payment, yet must we expect nothing, since his many respects and daily invitation by presents may from us challenge a better requital.

In case we find you molested by Portingales at our coming, we then will make you fires, put them out and kindle them again, according to your direction; and we desire that then you repair to your new discovered bay, where we may have intercourse to

[1] A native vessel laden with timber had been overhauled by the *James* on her voyage to Jask (Nov. 13). She was said to belong to some Gujarátí merchants, but as she carried a Portuguese pass, she was 'kept upon suspicion till our return to Suratt' (Child's journal in the I. O. Records; see note on p. 255).

[2] *Zenett*, or *sennit*, was 'a flat braided cord, formed by plaiting rope yarns together' (Totten's *Naval Text-book*, 1841). To *would* is to wind round or bind.

each other. And this is all I can now remember needful to write; only this, your rial of eight, as well in any your expense of victual as otherwise, upon my motion and by the Sultaun's express order are to pass at five lareens,[1] for which the Governor of Jasques hath his ticket; of which I desire you acquaint your purser and people.

So thus again with my hearty well wishes I commend me unto you and to your ship's company, and us all to the Lord's merciful protection.

Your ever true loving friend,

Edw. Connok.

I have found this Governor of Jasques, Meere Tasside, an honest Moor. I pray you respect him accordingly, for we shall have great use of him. And forget not our commendations to Captain Fewgers and our merchants aboard you, to whom at this time we have no occasion to write. I pray you remember the wretched estate of our rusty sword-blades.

Addressed: To my very worthy friend, Captain Alexander Child, aboard the ship the James, in the road of Jasques.

Endorsed: Directions from Edward Connock to Alexander Child for discharging his ship at a place called Costack.

421

Robert Hughes[2] to the East India Company.

Agemere, December the 28th, 1616.

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful, My most respective duty remembered, etc.

May it please your Worships to take notice that my last was of the 16th January, 1615 [1616],[3] from Suratt and left in the hands of the Worshipful General Keelinge, to be conveyed unto you by return of the good ship called the

[1] See vol. i., p. 337.

[2] A young merchant who had come out in Keeling's fleet. He was fond of sketching with pen and ink, and on one occasion his drawings formed the subject of a special inquiry addressed by the Mogul to the English ambassador (*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 211). In 1620-21 Hughes was one of the factors employed in opening up trade at Patna. He died about three years later.

[3] Not extant.

Lion, in the which I then advised you of our safe arrival at Suratt, etc., as also what was ordered by our General and Council for dispeeding part of such cloth and other goods landed for the Court factory, according to advice from thence given, under the charge and conduct of William Biddulphe and myself, who departed Suratt the 18th January with a cafilowe[1] consisting of 200 broadcloths, hot waters, Muscovia hides, sword-blades and many other commodities, and arrived with all our goods in safety at the town of Agemer (the then residence of the Great Mogoll) the 10th March following, where we housed both goods and selves under the roof of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Lord Ambassador, it being his Lordship's pleasure it should be so for saving the expense in keeping two houses.

Soon after our arrival we made means to some of the great men, and acquainted them with the coming of our cloth, etc.; who more inquired after toys than any such commodity. Nevertheless, Asaf chan (one of the nearest to the Emperor) at that time promised us to help put off a good quantity of our cloth to the King, the which promise we took hold of and neglected not to solicit him daily for performance thereof; who afterwards answered us, that all the cloth taken by the King the former year was yet in his storehouse; but in conclusion (pressing him to perform his promise made us) he gave way unto us to send in to the quantity of 100 cloths more, which we accordingly did, where they lay for the space of 50 days before we could procure them to look them over, or make price thereof. And in fine the chief officer, Radat chan,[2] propounded this question, that if we would, unknown to any of the rest of his assistants, after the price was made, allow him a half ruppie upon each covedo, we should have his best furtherance for the putting off the same. We answered if he would take three or four hundred cloths we would deal fairly with him and promise him a quarter ruppie upon a covedo. The quantity he denied, saying the King had already

[1] Caravan (Arabic *káfila*).

[2] Irádat Khán (Mír Muhammad Bákir), a *protégé* of Ásaf Khán, whom he afterwards assisted in securing the accession of Sháh Jahán. The latter gave him in turn the governments of Bengal, Allahábád, Gujarát, and Jaunpúr. He died in 1649. Roe describes him as being at this time 'the chief of his [the Mogul's] officers of household.'

more cloth than he should have use for in three or four years, and that if they took any more it was rather to do us a pleasure than for any necessity his master had for such a commodity. Yet we got them to lay by of the 100 cloths sent in 51 Venice reds, 10 yellows, and 9 greens; the remainder, being 30 bad colours, they returned on our hands again. For the reds and greens the price was made by the King's broker at 9½ ruppes per covedo, and the yellows at 9 ruppes, to abate 1¼ covedo per cento, a usual custom belonging to the Emperor; these being all we could force upon them, which amounted to the sum of about 23,000 ruppes net. Eight cloths more of several colours we have sold to the Prince, Sultan Corone, and about some 15 or 16 to private men. For these cloths taken by the King and Prince we have received the moneys, as also for most part of the rest, and remitted it for Agra to be invested in indigoes and semianas, according to advice given from Suratt, it being all we could possibly spare, for all other goods sold here this year would scarce make money sufficient to furnish his Lordship. By this year's sales your Worships may conjecture what future hopes here is like to be for sale of such a quantity of cloth left here the last year, and it being a commodity of so little esteem by these people. We likewise, perceiving the slow sales of our cloth for money, have offered it in barter for indigo, semianas, etc., but the merchants and makers of the indigo would by no means listen thereunto, presuming to find chapmen for ready money, and the rather for that there hath been small store made this year for want of rain, by reason whereof that which is good is much improved in price over it hath in former years been to be bought. Nevertheless they made barter in Agra for some [*blank*] chorlls of a coarse sort, rating their cloth at 10 ruppes per covedo, and taking the indigo at 22 ruppes per maunde.[1]

We have lately sold here in Agemere to two Bannyanes and one Armenian 136 cloths of all colours at about 9, 10, 11 ruppes per covedo, to pay at five months,[2] having taken good and sufficient security, and doubt not at the time expired but to have punctual payment. The sum of the moneys for this cloth sold may amount to about 51,000 ruppes. The reason of these men

[1] Cp. p. 289. [2] See p. 243.

taking such a quantity of our cloth is that they have taken certain livings or Preganies[1] of the Emperor, and all or the greatest part of this cloth goeth into the King's hands, as his officers hath informed us. So that there is no hope or expectation that the King will take any more cloth of us this year approaching. I could wish all the rest in our hands were so sold, a great part of these being spotted and stained. The moneys for this cloth sold will not be due till March next; so that it is not to be expected for this year's return, but hope it will be a good furtherance for the more speedy despatch of a ship the next year, if God permit.

Since the departure of the Lion for England we received letters from the factory of Mesolopatan of the arrival of the Solomon there with sundry factors,[2] who brought letters from Captain Doutton and Mr. Thomas Elkington; but since the arrival of the foresaid there arrived a junk from Bantan, by whom they understand of the death of Captain Douton and that Mr. Thomas Elkinton was to return home captain in the Gift, as also of the loss of the Thomasine (laden with nuts and maces) before Moccaser, the company all saved.[3]

The 22nd July there arrived at the bar of Suratt a ship called the Nassau,[4] belonging to the United States, of the burden of 300 tons, who left Christendom more than three years past, and in September 1615 they set sail from Bantan freighted with all sorts of spices, stuffs, dishes of Chyna, and sundry other southern commodities, being bound for the Red Sea, but by the way they touched at Zeilan, where they encountered a Portingall laden with 200 bahares of cinnamon, who without resistance yielded. The Hollanders carried her into the Red Sea, where the first port they arrived at was Shahar[5]; and there having landed three of their merchants with all sorts of such commodities as they were freighted with, their ship and prize set sail for Moha,[6] where in

[1] *Parganas*, or districts. Purchas explains (vol. i., p. 455) that '*prigonies* are lordships.' [2] See p. 28. [3] See vol. iii., p. 325.

[4] For this first appearance of a Dutch vessel at Surat, see pp. 332, 338; also *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (pp. 228 *et seq.*), and the books and documents there cited.

[5] Sheher, on the S.W. coast of Arabia, between Ras Makalleh and the present port of Shekhr. It is now in ruins. See also *Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 173, and Van den Broecke's *Reysen naer Oost-Indien*, p. 31. [6] Mocha.

little space they sold all their cinnamon, and two-thirds of their own lading for ready money, gaining 3, 3½ and 4 for one; and there mought have sold the rest, but were encouraged by some Gozeratt ships they met there, in hope of great gain, to come to Suratt. So they came from thence and, having taken in their men at Shahar (who had made sale of all their goods), directed their course for Socotora, intending there to have stayed till the coming of the easter monsoon. But the winds being adverse, in vain they attempted it; so they were forced, as their last refuge, to come for Suratt. They brought great store of ready moneys with them, besides 100 tons of southern goods. Where they (with licence) landed their goods and moneys, and dispeeded their ship for Bantan, leaving four of their merchants at Suratt to make sale of their goods, who expect this approaching year a fleet of ships from Holland, at whose arrival it is to be feared they will procure a settled trade here, the Emperor being apt to entertain any stranger which by trade may bring benefit either to him or [his] subjects. Howsoever I could wish that your Worships could conveniently [look ?] to the trade of bringing spices from the southward to sell in these parts, which would be the only means for the raising of moneys to maintain this trade withal, which otherwise by bringing our gross commodities out of England (I am of opinion) will never raise a sufficient stock to provide for the lading of one ship home yearly, unless great store of ready moneys be brought, as by these few years' experience you may plainly perceive; for all the moneys that hath been raised of commodities sold in a whole year's revolution would not have procured lading sufficient to have freighted the two-thirds of one of your Worships' ships, had not store of ready moneys been landed by each fleet to supply our wants for investments; whereas if sufficient moneys were once obtained to procure goods from year to year to be ready at Suratt against the arrival of each year's shipping, it would both redeem much time and save great charges which doth arise by detaining the ships at Suratt five or six months after their arrival before lading can be procured for want of means, which our dull commodities will never be able to comprise.

Your Worships may further please to take notice that this

year's fleet, viz. the Charles, the Unicorn, the James, and the Globe, arrived in safety against the bar of Surratt the 23rd September last, under the chief command of Captain Henry Pepwell; which at the Cape Bona Speranza happily met with the Lion bound for England, all her men in health, and from thence was forced to dispeed the Swan for Bantam, for want of the arrival of the Rose, which in a storm at sea was separated their company. Of their fight they made with a carrack which they met with at the islands of Comero, the death of their General (Captain Benjamin Josephe) and what else happened in their voyage, I refer your Worships to their journal, which no doubt will largely advise you of all their proceedings.

Ample advice to Suratt hath not been neglected since the arrival of the fleet, for what commodities they have brought most fitting the Court factory, as also for the more safer and speedy conveyance thereof, which, by detaining the last year's goods at Suratt more than three months before their despatch from thence could be procured, the best time for sales was spent before our arrival at Court; which if in succeeding times order be not taken that they may be here by the beginning of January, that sales may be made thereof by the feast called the Nawrose,[1] which is in March and the best time to put off all such goods the Court is like to vent, small hope for sales to be expected afterwards.

For what of our European commodities are most in request and likeliest to sell in future years in these parts, I refer your Worships to the chiefs of each factory to be generally advised. Only for some private commodities most fitting this factory I presume (according to my small experience) to insert my opinion. Cloth of gold and silver of the richest and fairest, 3 or 4,000 pounds worth will sell here for good profit; velvets of the best sorts, crimsons, greens, purples and yellows, both wrought and plain, 3 or 400 pieces; satins of the best, 200 pieces; chamletts of all colours (but blues), 1,000 pieces, in good request; cloth of Aras,[2] 15 or 20 rich suits, from 10 to 30 shillings a stick, in very good request; standing cups, and the like plate, richly enamelled and chased, will sell to good profit, good workmanship being here at great rates; Muscovie hides, if large and good colours, 3 or 400

[1] See vol. iii., p. 65, and *supra*, pp. 19, 100.

[2] Arras.

will sell here yearly; comb-cases of the largest size, well furnished, 200; ostrich feathers, of all sorts and colours well dressed, two hundredweight will sell to good profit; gold and silver lace of all sorts and sizes, 1,000 yards will likewise sell to good profit; and generally any other rich commodity (not formerly sent into these parts) for the first time very well requested, especially toys of all sorts but of neat and curious workmanship. The velvets and satins sent by your Worships this last year for a trial, had they been 4 or 500 pieces, the Emperor said he would have taken them all himself, much rejoicing when he first heard of their coming, but sorry for the small quantity.

Concerning the dispeeding the James for the port Jasques in Persia, I refer your Worships to receive large advice from Suratt, by which factory that business was both ordered and concluded on.

We have sent your Worships from this factory of Agemer the copy of our journal and balance of our ledger, wherein is comprised all our proceedings this last year, both here and at Agra, the which I hope will arrive in safety to your Worships' hands.

Nothing hath been effected by his Lordship with the Emperor for the establishing a settled trade in these parts; articles were drawn by his Lordship and delivered up, but not accepted of, this King observing the custom of the great Turk, not vouchsafing to article with any nation whatsoever. Nevertheless his Lordship purposeth once more to prove him this approaching year. God send good success therein. His Lordship and all his followers, with William Biddulphe, factor, departed this city about a month past, being gone in progress with the Emperor, leaving only myself here with all our goods, till within this five days here[1] arrived Francis Fettiplace from Agra, where we attend advice for the transporting the goods either for Agra or for some other settled place, according as the Emperor shall make his next year's abode, which as yet is uncertain. The moneys formerly mentioned, which hath been made here this year and remitted for Agra, is invested (and bartered with some cloth) in 300 chorles of indigoes of several sorts, and 18 chests of semianas, containing 2,234 pieces, all which are dispeeded for Suratt to be embarked for England.

Concerning my carriage and behaviour in your Worships'

[1] It seems clear that this letter was written in the early part of December, though kept till the 28th for want of conveyance.

affairs, etc., I refer myself to the general censure of all men. And so, not having else at present to enlarge, but my duty recommended, with my prayers to the Almighty for the prosperity of all your Worships' affairs, I humbly take my leave and rest

Your Worships' faithful servant,

Robert Hughes.

I entreat these enclosed may be delivered according to their direction.

Addressed: To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Governor and Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indias this dd. in London.

Endorsed: Robert Hughes in Adgemer, the 28 December, 1616. Received the 5 September, 1617, by the Globe. Ext [racted].

422

George Pley[1] to [Robert] Middleton and [Robert] Bateman.[2]

['Mogustan'] December 30, 1616.

WORSHIPFUL, My duty remembered, etc.

In my former letter[3] by this ship unto the Governor and Committees in general I have at large expressed what befell us in our passage from the Cape unto Surrat, and therein mentioned some things concerning the cause of this new employment, whereof you having communicated I shall not need herein to make relation. And now notwithstanding our general letters unto you will sufficiently declare the manner of our proceedings hither in your affairs, yet that especial favour of yours which jointly you have vouchsafed me to particularize something unto you touching the same; certifying you the[4] 27 days after our departure from Surrat we arrived (God be thanked) at Jasques in safety, where the Governor kindly entertained us. By him we understood that the Governor of this

[1] George Pley, who was a cousin of Kerridge, had come out in the 1616 fleet. He died December 2, 1617.

[2] This is only a copy, probably furnished by the addressees. Messrs. Middleton and Bateman were prominent members of the direction, and the latter was afterwards Treasurer.

[3] Dated November 7, 1616. It is not among the I. O. Records, but a copy will be found in Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 2121.

[4] That?

province of Ormoze resided at Mogustan, eight days' journey with camels from Jasques; whereupon we immediately prepared for that journey, Mr. Connock, myself and two others being appointed thereunto, to signify unto the said Governor the end of our coming. With us we carried some small quantity of each sort of our commodities for a muster. The Governor of this place, having intelligence of our approach near, sent some of his horsemen to meet us, and withal sent horses for such of us as rode on camels. At a house of his own near his castle he prepared to lodge us in, he there met us accompanied with some four or five chiefs of the place and guarded with 40 small shot. Where, after we had presented his King's phirmane,[1] he used us with much respect, promising that wherein he might assist us in the furtherance of our businesses he would not be wanting. And now because of this year we cannot find out any harbour near unto the coasts and towns of trade, we are constrained to leave our goods at Jasquis, and for that purpose Mr. Connock with two others of our merchants are gone down to effect the same and to dispeed away the ship that she may meet the fleet at Swalley before their departure. The Governor here hath procured us sufficient camels to bring up our goods, and sent at his own charge ten horse well armed for convoy thereof, with express command to all governors of forts in the way that they do likewise aid and assist us if the Portingall should attempt anything against us; for from Jasquis within a day's journey of this place, the caravan must come by the sea-shore in the Gulf, and some part of the way in sight of the island Ormoze, where the Portingall are. But, as the people here report, the Portingall fear us, and upon news of our coming at Jasquis some of them departed the island and went over to Muskat in Arabia Felix, where they have also a strong castle, some 30 leagues from Ormoz. But however, it is not good to be too secure. Jasques being so far remote from places of trade, we cannot but be at some extraordinary charge this year before we come with our goods to Sirash, and also with part at Spahan, where the King keepeth his court; but we doubt not before the next year to find out some nearer and more convenienter harbour for our shipping and thereof to certify both

[1] The licence brought back by Crowther (see p. 334, and vol. ii., p. xx.).

you and those at Surrat. In the meantime, as men do expect to reap benefit from off the earth not without much labour and charge in manuring the same, and yet for the space of one year do with patience wait for the fruits thereof, we hope you in like manner you with the rest of our masters will be content to be at some charge in the plantation and establishing of this hopeful trade, which we hope in short time will produce much benefit unto you in particular and to our country in general.

At this time I cannot advise you of the certainty of their weights and measures in this country, neither of the price of commodities. For [*blank*] of Ormoz is but poor, few or no merchants, only some poor Bannians sell out spices by the ounce, and of them we cannot learn the just price; but sure it is that spices of all sorts will sell in these countries to good profit and also all sorts of Gooserat commodities, wherewith the Portugalls do furnish this and other kingdoms. What profit they make we hope in short time to share with them in the like commodities. As for English cloth, we are in part assured that it will sell well, for here in these parts the chief and also common soldiers do wear all their upper garments of English cloth, which is brought out of Turkey hither.

We hope shortly to advise the Company of all occurrences, and in the material points which concern our trade to give them full satisfaction. At this time no other material thing doth offer itself whereof to write you. In our travels thus far we find the country peaceable, the people courteous, and plenty of all necessary provision. God of His mercy prosper the rest of our journey as He hath the beginning, and grant us good success in our endeavours.

Thus with many thanks for your favours vouchsafed me, praying for the continuance of your healths with all happy success in your affairs, do commend you and yours to God's gracious protection.

Endorsed: To Mr. Middleton and Mr. Bateman, the 30th of December, 1616. From George Pley.

423

William Biddulph to the East India Company.

Laus Deo in the Lascar of the Great Magoll, the last of December, 1616.

RIGHT Honourable and Right Worshipful, My duty remembered, etc.

May it please you my last was of the 22nd January 1615 [1616][1] by the Lion, who departed the road of Swally the 19th February last, not doubting by God's assistance but she is safely arrived at the wished port. Since which what hath passed, for our sales and employments in Agra and Agimere, our account and invoice sent down to Surat (having advised them to send the same to your Worships) will particularly show, unto which I refer me.

We have sold cloth to three several men[2] (as may appear in our account), having good security, to pay at four and five months, which will be all due by March next for fifty and odd thousand rupias, which I doubt not but we shall have ready invested for the next ships (God sending them in safety), besides what sales we shall make in the meantime; the which I pray God may prove to some value, but in my opinion here will not be sold this year in the Court 30 cloths, for that what hath been sold in Agimere hath come all (or the greatest part) into the King's hands, and for all other men's buying no expectation for vent of any quantity. I desire I may be deceived in this my opinion; howsoever, in my poor experience would wish your Worships not to send one cloth for one or two years, for that here is sufficient in the country for so long time, and if it be kept long upon our hands will be spotted, stained and eaten with worms, these cloths last sold being in that manner. But when you please to send any cloth, send none but two-thirds Venice reds (whereof some few stammells) and one-third popinjay greens and yellows, and no other colours; for here is many bad colours, which will not vent at any price or time in reason; besides doth hinder the sale of the good colours, which we are forced to make them take some few of them. But truth is at present all colours a drug and not vendible, being cloyed therewith. For other commo-

[1] Not extant.

[2] See p. 277.

dities, velvets of the best sorts, most crimson, some green, and a few purples in grain, there may vent 40 or 50 pieces at good rates to the King and nobles. Tapestry hangings, 8 or 10 suits (being much inquired after by great men) of ordinary depths, as 3, 4, 4½ and 5 Flemish ells deep, and the dearest not above 7 or 8 shillings per [ell ?], except 2 or 3 suits of 15 or 18*s*. per stick for the King. Some rich stuffs of good light colours and some mingled colours wrought in flowers of all sorts, some few for a trial, being no doubt but will vent at good rates, all in general looking after new and strange things, especially if they be of value. Muscovye hides, comb-cases of all sorts (most of the larger size), kerseys Northern and Devonshire, looking-glasses very large and rich (other sorts none): some few of all these will yearly vent. Lead, quicksilver, vermilion, etc., may vent below[1] (at very low rates), but at Court no expectation for sales. Baize, coral, elephants' teeth and sword-blades will not sell here, being all better commodities for sale in Surat than here; and how they will vent there I doubt but your Worships shall have large advice, both of them and all other commodities. This place must not be cloyed yearly with one commodity, but with variety of sorts to be sent every shipping as much as may be, all here at Court inquiring for strange novelties to present the King with.

Since his Lordship's coming to the Court (which is now about 12 months) what his expense hath been in household expenses and otherwise, our account will particularly show, he having been since his coming into the country as sparing in all expenses as he possibly could, regarding his place. His household charges, with his servants' wages, may yearly be by computation about 5 or 600*l*. per annum, besides his Lordship's salary. We have paid his Lordship half a year's wages aforehand, he showing us that his time begins the 16th of November,[2] and your Worships' advice in your general letter to the factors doth show not before January; yet upon his demand and word to answer the same to your contents and to save us harmless, we allowed the same, desiring your Worships to have advice thereof by the next.

[1] At Surat.

[2] 1614. This was the date of Roe's agreement with the Company (see *The Embassy*, p. 547).

Since his Lordship's arrival he hath laboured what in him lay (not wronging his place) for privileges and seeking justice for divers wrongs offered. For wrongs, as extorting of moneys in shipping time in divers places, restitution hath been made; but for other privileges than formerly we had, little as yet effected, this not being a place, in my opinion, for a Christian ambassador, in regard of their disrespect and pride, not knowing (or at least will not) what their right and place is, that being (as is reported) the cause the King of Spain would never send his ambassador for this place.[1] May it please your Worships, in my opinion a sufficient merchant to be resident at the Court with presents yearly to present the King and one or two of the nobles, will procure and effect all businesses here needful at far cheaper rates than any ambassador can be sent for these parts. For here is nothing to be told the King but first by means of one of his chief nobles and then he acquaints the King; and if it be anything that he thinks will displease the King they will never inform him of it. So that in these parts other than merchants are needless.

And whereas your Worships gives passage yearly for divers voluntaries,[2] it is a disgrace to our nation (if not of good and sufficient ability to maintain themselves in good sort) and will in the end prove an unknown hindrance to this trade; and if any of them (by any disaster, as there is many in these parts) fall into poverty and not relieved by the factory, must of force turn Moors or die in the streets. These with divers other inconveniences come by masterless men. Referring it to your Worships' wisdoms and considerations.

His Lordship and factors are all together in one house, and finding by your Worships' commission that we should be apart, I did inform his Lordship of it and advised so much to the chiefs in Surat; yet it was thought fit, for the saving of some charges, to continue all together; which is certain is something the less expense, but occasion of some inconveniences in effecting merchandising, besides other discontents for factors to be amongst serving-men.

[1] Cp. Roe's own views (p. 12, and *The Embassy*, p. 351).

[2] Persons not in the Company's service, *e.g.*, Boughton (vol. iii., p. 330).

It was thought fit for myself to proceed with his Lordship in the King's Lascar and take with me some few cloths and sword-blades to see if I could make sale of them, as also for the recovery of some debts and for the putting off what goods I can that I expect to be sent from Surat to the Lascar. Robert Hughes I have left in Agimere with the remainder of our cloth and other goods, in regard we could not possibly get carriage for such a quantity. Francis Fetyplace and Joseph Salbanke are in Agra; but before my departure Agimere I writ Francis Fetyplace to repair for Agimere to accompany Robert Hughes, in regard the greatest charge is there, and that when it is certainly known where the King will make his abode they may both come thither with the goods, here being little or no expectation for sale of any goods until the King be settled.

We understood by letters from Surat of the arrival of four of your Worships' ships in safety at the bar of Surat the 22nd of September last, but have not had as yet any information from thence of your Worships' commission for merchandising, neither of any letter to the factors; so that as yet we are altogether ignorant of your orders, as also of their proceedings in Surat this year; only understand of their resolving, concluding, and dispeeding the James for Pertia to the port of Jasques. God grant the ship to arrive in safety, and send sales to their expectations and your Worships' benefit, which is something to be doubted, that port being a poor fishing town and no hope for sales or employments there. The chief place where the silk is to be had (being the chief and principal commodity in that country) and vent for our commodities, is at least 30 or 40 days' journey from that port. So that this year there is small likelihood of any return or sales. What futurely may be, time will bring forth; but that trade is much to be doubted will never come to any good perfection unless your Worships can take all the silk off the King's hands, which will not be done without half money (at least), the rest commodity; which, if you can do it, will put your Worships to great trouble and charges, being for certain that the Sophye of Persia hath sent Sir Robert Sherlye ambassador to the King of Spaine (who takes shipping at Goa this present month

for Portingall) to conclude a trade and bring his shipping thither for the effecting of that business. So it is doubtful what entertainment or trade our nation shall have in those parts. God grant it may fall out to your Worships' contents and profit, with good encourgement for farther proceeding therein.

Our Agra caffala,[1] consisting of 300 churles of indigo and 2,234 pieces of semianaes with other small things for musters as per our invoice may appear, departed Agimere for Surat the 2nd of this present month in company of Robert Yonge, John Crouther, John Yonge, Wm. Partridge, Tho. Armestrong, musician,[2] Thomas Holmes, one of his Lordship's men, and Jacob the Almayne.[3] Some of these were desirous to go for Surat; the rest were thought fit to send down, putting your Worships to a needless charge. So that how they at Surat will dispose of these men, I know not, most of them being fitter for England than to do your Worships service in these parts. There is some 60 churles of indigo, being a coarse sort, which they in Agra made a barter for as half money half cloth, part of the cloth being of Captain Downton's voyage, all bad colours, all stained and worm-eaten. The indigo they took at 22 ru [pees] per maen, and sold their cloth at 10 ru [pees] per covado; not doubting but this parcel with the rest, God sending it in safety to your hands, will yield good profit to content.

Thomas Armstrong, who was sent to serve the King for a musician, at his first coming was entertained and afterwards was dismissed without any payment from the King; so we were forced to pay him his wages here to the 4th of August last, and I think they at Surat will pay him the rest due unto him. The King some two months before his departure Agimere gave him [96] rupees as a gift; so that, if your Worships please, you may deduct so much out [of] his wages which will be due to him before his arrival in England.

The coachman was at first entertained by the King, afterwards dismissed with the musician, and is now entertained again

[1] See p. 276.

[2] He had been sent out with the virginals which formed part of the present for the Mogul. The latter, however, soon tired of them, and dismissed the musician, who made his way to Surat, and embarked for Bantam.

[3] German. On p. 240 he is called Jacob Duchman.

and hath 1½ rupias per day.[1] How long he shall continue his service with the King is uncertain. So that these men and the like will be but a needless charge to your Worships.

His Lordship hath received for presents since his coming to the Court as followeth: the King's picture set in gold with a fair pearl and chain of gold: more, one gold cup with a cover and plate of gold, all very thick set with rubies, emeralds (but of the new rock) and Turkish stones; both which presents (being given him at twice) may be worth here 4 or 500*l.*;[2] these being all the gifts he hath received except slaves (which his Lordship gave presently liberty), venison, hogs, sheep, etc., of small value.

May it please your Worships, in divers of my formers I have entreated for augmentation of my wages, but hitherto never heard your Worships' pleasures; so still continue my humble suit for the same, for that this my small means is not sufficient for my maintenance; hoping your Worships will in your goodnesses and wisdoms think of a poor young man who hath done your Worships service with his best endeavours so many years in a foreign country, and hath hitherto and ever will refer himself wholly to your bounties, which hath ever been extenuated largely to all young men more than their deservings could anywise claim.

Thus humbly entreating your Worships' favourable considerations, and pardon for my briefness at present, I humbly take my leave, resting

Your Worships' servant to be commanded,

Wm. Biddulph.

Addressed: To the Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor, and Company trading to the East Indyes, these dd. in London.

Endorsed: William Biddulph from the Great Magull's Court, the last of December, 1616. Received the 5 September, 1617, by the Globe. Extra[cted].

[1] The coachman's name was William Hemsell, and he had previously served 'Dr. Farran and my Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield' (*Court Minutes*, Jan. 3, 1615). Terry says the Mogul allowed him 'a very great pension,' and that he would have risen 'unto a very great estate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was settled in that great service.'

[2] For these presents, see *The Embassy*, pp. 244, 256, etc.

APPENDIX.

I.

The Factors at Surat to the East India Company.[1]
[Surat] March the 10th, 1615 [1616].

HONOURABLE and Right Worshipful, etc., Our duties remembered. The consideration of the urgent necessity and apparent utility of frequent advice, especially from places so far remote as this, hath encouraged us, notwithstanding our late and more particular advice by the Lion,[2] to readvise of the occurrences and passages of your affairs in these parts; whereto we were the rather induced, in respect of the present offered opportunity occasioned by the sending out of a ship[3] from hence for the Red Sea, from whence we have ordered the conveyance of our letters to Alleppo, enclosed to the Consul there, whose assistance we have entreated for their speediest and safest convoy for England.

May it therefore please you to be advertised that there arrived here before the bar of Suratt, viz., the 15th October, 1614, under the command of that worthy Captain Nicholas Downton, the New Year's Gift, Hector, Hope and Solomon, out of which several ships was discharged such sums of moneys and sorts of goods as were thought expedient and vendible in these parts. The 3rd March following they departed hence, the Hope being reladen and bound for England, and the other three ships for the Southward, having first taken in such a sufficient quantity of all sorts of calicoes and other commodities as were here to be procured, and requisite to be transported for those southern parts. The particular sorts and prices of all such goods as were laden upon

[1] From a copy in *Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., part i., f. 4.

[2] For this, see Kerridge's letter-book in the British Museum (*Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 55).

[3] A native vessel.

the said four ships is specified in an invoice sent for England by the Hope, of whose safe arrival at the Cape we have had certain intelligence by the late arrival here of General Keeleing's fleet, and doubt not but that long since she is arrived at the true port of her discharge; and therefore will omit to insist upon any farther particulars of that voyage.

These four ships being thus dispeeded, it was considered what course should be taken for the providing of lading for the expected fleet of the ensuing year, thereby to prevent extreme prejudice unto the Honourable Company, which must necessarily ensue by long detaining their ships in these parts, in case we wanted provision for their present lading, not only to the great loss of time and expense of money, but to the apparent hazard and danger of their ships, by giving advantage to the Portingales our enemies to prepare themselves and collect their forces, thereby enabling them the better to withstand our proceedings. The premisses considered, it was determined to proceed in the sale of all such goods as were landed here by General Downton, and with the proceed of the said goods to make investments for the following year; the which not succeeding according to expectation, the year was far spent before the final accomplishment of the said sales. Yet at length it was effected as the time would permit; whereupon Mr. Aldworth made his speedy repair to Amadavaz, there to invest the said proceed in Serques[1] indigo according to the intent of a consultation held aboard the New Year's Gift [2]; at whose arrival there they found the indigoes advanced to such unreasonable rates, partly through the report of a peace to be accomplished with the Portingales, which was then newly set on foot and strongly prosecuted by Moccrob Chan, a great favourite of theirs, and partly through the indirect and sinister dealing of our brokers, who for their disloyalty were presently expulsed the house and service of the Company. Indigo being improved for the former alleged reasons, it was determined to refrain buying for certain days, in hope thereby to have beat down the prices; and the rather for that though the peace with the Portingales were then in suspense, yet they had little hope to effect their purposed designs. For these reasons the investments were daily deferred, even until

[1] Sarkhej.

[2] See vol. ii., p. 136.

the arrival of Captain William Keeleing, who anchored before the bar of Suratt the 19th September, 1615, with four good ships, viz. the Dragon, Lion, Peppercorn and Expedition, and set sail from hence the 20th[1] February following, the Lion being laden and bound for England, whose cargazon, consisting of Byana and Serques indigo, symeanoes, broad baftas, cotton yarn, carpets, salammoniac, opium, and conserves, etc., amounts to the value of 313,380 ma [mudis] and 3 pyce. The other three ships were bound for the Southward, upon which was laden all such sorts of commodities which (both for their sorts and quantities) were by the best experienced approved to be most vendible in those southern parts, viz. baftas blue, cannekeenes, serebaffs, trycany chyrans, cotton wool, steel, pottalaes, selaes, cheetes, Decan hilts, etc., amounting to the value of 45,081 ma [mudis] 25 pyce, the particulars of all which goods, with their prices, is inserted in the general invoice sent unto the Honourable Company by Captain Newport in the Lion, whom with the rest of this fleet we beseech God may arrive at their several ports of discharge in safety.

May it further please you that the port of Suratt and divers towns and villages adjacent were lately given by the King unto his son Sultan Corrome, and the government of this place was conferred upon Sulpheckar Chan (an attendant gentleman unto the said prince), who, being of mean birth, left no indirect means unattempted for the advancing of his fortunes, who daily gave impediment unto our proceedings, notwithstanding there was given him sundry rich presents, to a greater value than ever was given to any his predecessors; so that, howsoever it was determined that the greatest part of the cloth now landed should forthwith be transported to Agemere, Brampoore, and other parts of the Great Mogoll's dominions (the present time being fittest for the sale thereof, in regard of an approaching festival annually celebrated by the King and his nobles), yet, as in all other so in this, he so strongly opposed us (notwithstanding there was 2,000 ma [mudis] ready money given him to effect this only business)[2] that it was the 20th of January before any cloth was dispeeded hence towards the Court, to the great hindrance and detriment of

[1] An error for '19th'; cp. p. 285, and Peyton's MS. journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276, f. 37).
[2] See p. 80.

our affairs, both in present sale of our cloth as also in the next year's investments for want of the proceed of the said cloth. Of this and all other his wrongs offered unto us, we have made particular relation unto the Lord Ambassador, who making complaint thereof unto the King, the Governor was presently commanded to make his speedy repair to the Court, there to answer those complaints exhibited against him; and we doubt not but the King will force him to make restitution of the said 2,000 ma [mudis] and other things extorted from us, besides the inflicting of some public punishment upon his person, thereby to deter others from committing the like offences.

Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesty's Ambassador unto the Great Mogoll, departed from Suratt towards the Court of the said Mogoll by the way of Brampoore, partly by reason of the more security of the way, and the rather to confer with Sultan Purvese (who hath his court at Brampoore) concerning an English factory to be established in that city; whereto the Prince seemed willing to condescend, and granted his firmaen for the more safe convoy of the English, their persons and goods, to the said place, and withal promised the gift of one of the fairest houses in the city to the said factory; which was not performed, in regard that the Prince at the time of the factors' arriving there was departed out of the city, employed by the King in his wars against the Deccanns.

It was long before the Lord Ambassador arrived at Agemere, the court of the Great Mogoll, in regard of his indisposition to health in his travels, which hath been a great impediment to the procuring of reformation of these manifold inconveniences this trade is subject unto. Yet it pleased God he arrived at Court the 23rd December, and not long after had audience, where he was fairly and with good respect entertained and many large promises made unto him by the King to redress all abuses; and for an entrance unto reformation the King granted two several firmaens for the restitution of sundry sums of moneys fraudulently purloined and violently extorted from the factors of Amadavaz during the time of this present year's investments, as appeareth by his Lordship's letter to the factors of that place,[1] the copy whereof we herewith send.

[1] See Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 6115, f. 78.

Mr. Edwards, who was ordered by the General and his Council to make his repair to Suratt, to answer unto certain objections exhibited against him by the greatest part of the English factors in the Great Mogoll's dominions, whereto he not giving sufficient satisfaction, was by joint consent of the General and his Council suspended the service of the Honourable Company, and ordered to take his passage for England in the Lion. And those moneys which were given Mr. Edwards by the King and his nobles, which amounteth unto the sum of eleven or twelve thousand ma [mudis], were determined by the said Council of right to belong unto the Honourable Company; whereupon it was concluded that Mr. Edwards should have licence to invest the said moneys, and that all such goods by him bought should be repacked aboard and marked with the accustomed mark of the Honourable Company.

We received from aboard these several ships under the command of Captain William Keeleing, in rials of eight, cloth, lead, quicksilver, elephants' teeth, kerseys, baize, sword-blades, coral, vermilion, Muscovy hides, and divers other English commodities, to the value of about 26,500*l*. sterling. All the ready moneys now landed and the proceed of part of these goods supplied this year's investments and returns sent per the same fleet; so that at the departure of the ships we were not only destitute of ready money, but were indebted five or six thousand ma[mudis] to sundry men; and whereas this present time, being immediately after the departure of the ships, is the chiefest and best time to make provision for the lading of the next year's fleet, we shall be forced to omit this opportunity in regard of our present wants of money. Howsoever, we purpose to leave nothing unattempted which may further the sale of those commodities landed here; to which end we have dispersed abroad and sent to the several factories in this kingdom such sorts and quantities of all commodities as is supposed may vent in the said factories, but as yet have had little encouragement of sales from any of them; neither throughout the whole kingdom of the Great Mogoll will there vent any great quantities of English commodities, as by our joint opinion upon each particular commodity here inserted may appear.

Cloth, in regard to the great quantity now landed (being 610 cloths), which will be sufficient to furnish this country for three years, we are of opinion that for the first year after the receipt hereof there be sent only 100 cloths (whereof two-thirds stamels and reds, and the rest popinjays and grass greens), and yearly afterwards 150 or 200 at the most, sorted as before; wherein also it may please you that especial care be had that the colours be good, perfect, and durable, for that we have had the experience of much that hath been defective in that kind, which in process of time (if not speedily prevented) will so discredit our cloth that it will not be at all vendible in these parts. Besides, we are confidently persuaded that the greatest part of the cloth now landed is near one-third part either overbought or overrated.

Lead in pigs or bars worth 8¼ ma [mudis] per maen (the bars most vendible); and may vent, throughout the whole country of the Great Mogoll, about twelve or thirteen thousand maens per annum. We have had late advice from Nicholas Bangham at Brampoore that there will vent 500 or 1,000 maens in that city at 9 or 10 rupp [ees] the great maen, which we resolve to furnish him withal.

Tin in bars worth at present 37 and 38 ma [mudis] per maen, and may vent per annum 300 maens.

Elephants' teeth, whereof the most vendible in these parts are such as are long, slender, rounded, and of small hollowness; of these 2,000 maens per annum, and are worth 74 and 75 ma [mudis] per maen.

Quicksilver (as concerning which it may please you that some especial care be had for the well packing of the same, the neglect whereof in all former voyages hath been the cause of great waste therein) is worth at present 200 ma [mudis] per maen; no buyers, and likely daily to fall in regard of a mine reported lately to be found about Agra [1]; so that we fear that in few years it will not countervail the charge of sending hither, except there be greater providence had to prevent the waste thereof, there being lost of the same in this fleet near about one-third part.

Vermilion worth here 190 ma [mudis] per maen; the quantity yearly about 50 maens.

[1] See vol. iii., p. 66.

Muscovy hides worth 20 ma[mudis] per piece, and may annually vent 300 or 350, provided that they be large, fair, and not full of holes, in which kind many now received were defective.

Sword-blades, 100 per annum will vent to good profit, provided that their fashion be such as is here required, viz. exceeding crooked, broad, thick-backed, and of such metal as will not stand, being bowed. But we suppose that this fleet hath so furnished this country with this particular commodity, that in many years they will not all be vented, and some never, in respect of their ill fashion; Edward Dodsworth being the occasion of this great loss, who, unexperienced in these parts, gave advice unto Captain Keeleing at the Cape to buy all the mariners' swords, which he performed, giving for them 3 and 4 ryalls of eight per piece ready money, a great part whereof will not here yield one ryall per piece. The quantity now landed is 1,544.

Knives, of such sorts as may cost in England 40 or 50 shillings sterling per dozen, whereof 20 or 30 dozen per annum will vent here to good profit. Besides, they are very acceptable in presents, and will serve instead of things of greater value.

Looking-glasses, viz. comb-cases of all sizes, which cost in England from 5 to 20 shillings sterling per piece, of all about 200 per annum. All other sorts of looking-glasses not here vendible. Besides, there is great loss in them in regard of their aptness to break, whereof we have had late experience by those now landed, a great part whereof are broken, and the greatest part through their want of foiling and other blemishes made unsaleable.

Cases and bottles of hot waters not vendible, yet acceptable in presents; to which purpose small gilt leather cases are more acceptable, less chargeable, and not so subject to break, that may contain about three pints per case. The leather bottles of hot waters now landed are one-fourth leaked out, being negligently shipped with their mouths downwards, and many of the bottles in cases broken; and none yet sold.

Pictures, if fair and good, are well esteemed by the King and his nobles; wherein great care must be had that they be so packed that they be not defaced.

Spanish pike-staves, worth 14 and 15 ma [mudis] per piece; whereof 300 or 350 per annum.

Glass ware, viz. wine glasses, water glasses, burning glasses, prospective glasses, spectacles, and what else of that kind, not here esteemed.

Having thus largely delivered our opinions of the sorts and quantities of all English commodities vendible in these parts, it remaineth that we briefly relate what commodities this country yieldeth for returns, inserting both the quantities here to be procured and their present values; in performing whereof we shall confine ourselves to those particulars specified in the seventh article of your commission delivered unto Captain William Keeleing, whereto particularly we deliver our answer as followeth:

Copper, not here to be procured at the rates required.

Indigoes of Serquese and Byana, sufficient quantities to be had for the lading of one ship (of the burden of 400 tons) per annum; to the better performance whereof it is requisite that yearly at the departure of the English fleet from hence there be left a sufficient sum of ready money, viz. 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* sterling, for the effecting of the same.

Symmeanes, great quantities of all prices to be had, whereof some sent for England by the Lion; as concerning which it may please you to advise both the quantities that will yearly vent, and the prices most requested.

Calicoes of all sorts and colours are here to be had in great abundance and at reasonable prices, divers of which sorts (by the experienced opinion of Robert Gipps) will vent to great profit in Barbary, whereof by the next fleet we resolve to send some small quantity for trial.

Pentadoes, sundry sorts and great quantities are here yearly made; wherefore it may please you to advise us what quantities we shall confine ourselves unto in our yearly returns.

Shashes, this country yieldeth great store, being of sundry prices from 5 to 100 ma [mudis] per piece; wherefore it may please you to advise what prices, colours and lengths you require for returns.

Green ginger and other kinds of conserves may here be procured to the quantity of four or five tons per annum; price about 9 ma [mudis] per maen.

Red sander wood, none to be had.

Opium, to be had here in good quantity at 100 ma [mudis] per maen, being of such sorts as is now returned by the Lion; of which we determine to send a little quantity yearly, except advice to the contrary.

Benjamin, small quantity and exceeding dear.

Sal ammoniac, to be had in greater quantity than is required; cost in Amadavaz 3½ rupp [ees] per maen, besides the charge of bringing it from thence, which is 3 ma [mudis] per maen.

Olibannon, none.

Lygnum alloes, none.

Wormseeds, none good.

Gumlack is here to be had of several sorts and prices; wherefore it may please you to advise whether the gumlack for dyeing, or that whereof wax is made, be that which you require by your commission. Howsoever, we purpose (God assisting) by the next fleet to send musters of each sort.

Silk of Persia, not here to be had in any quantity and exceeding dear.

Quilts and carpets are here to be had both in great quantity and of sundry sorts; whereof we have sent divers by the Lion and will proceed to effect herein according as we shall receive advice out of England.

Cotton yarn, exceeding great quantities may here yearly be procured, being priced from half a ma [mudi] to 40 ma [mudis] and upwards per seare; hereof (viz. of the ordinary sort) there is great quantity shipped in the Lion, and therewith divers musters of finer sorts; upon the receipt whereof it may please you to advise us what sorts and quantities thereof is most saleable there, that accordingly we may proceed.

Sugarcandy, to be delivered aboard free of all charge, worth 14 ma [mudis] per maen.

Drugs, the country yieldeth none, but hath use of many, which is sparingly brought hither from foreign parts.

To the eighth article in the said commission we answer that we shall omit neither care nor diligence which may give furtherance to the well and merchantlike packing up of all sorts of commodities to prevent damage in their transportation.

To the ninth: according to the intent of this article we have laden upon the three ships bound for Achine, Pryaman, etc., all such sorts of calicoes and other merchandise as are certainly saleable in these parts; though for the quantities now sent we were forced to confine ourselves within the narrow limit of our present means.

To the tenth, we affirm that the river Syndus[1] hath his extent unto Lahore, and is with much security passable, yet at present not available in the point intended by this article, in regard there is no factory settled in those parts.

To the eleventh, it is thought expedient as yet to defer the settling of a factory in Lahore, both in regard of the small stock we have in this country, as also that we may first inform ourselves of the profit of that place, which by the first and best opportunities we will endeavour to effect.

To the twelfth, we are certain that all spices, China dishes, silks of China, bedsteads, and generally whatsoever those southern parts do yield, will here vent to good profit; besides, the bringing of those southern commodities into these parts is both very acceptable unto this nation and will be a good means to increase the Company's stock in this place; which may with little danger be effected, provided that they make their computations to arrive here at such time as the fleet arriveth here out of England.

To the thirteenth, concerning the river of Mundafrabarr,[2] we refer you to Robert Bonner his information thereof; the which, though supposed convenient for the riding of ships, yet it will require great charge for fortification and continual garrison to be maintained there; besides, the passages into the country from that place are so full of thieves that we cannot with any security

[1] Indus. The 'Rio de Diul Sinde' of Mercator and Linschoten had not been previously identified with the Indus, which was supposed to flow into the Gulf of Cambay (cp. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 96).

[2] Cp. pp. 208, 332 of the previous volume, where this place was identified with Mhowa, on the Káthiáwár coast. It appears more probable, however, that the town referred to was the neighbouring port of Muzafarábád, now Jáfarábád, about thirty miles east of Diu. 'It derives its name from Sultán Muzafar of Gujarát, who built the fortifications; hence the town was called Muzafarábád, by contraction Zafarábád and Jáfarábád, as it is now invariably called' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. viii., p. 452). Peyton in his journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19276) refers to it as 'a very good place by report, ten leagues E.N.E. from Diue, called Madafflabar, and hath a great river of fresh water, whereinto ships of two or three hundred tons may go.'

transport goods from thence to other parts of the King's dominions without strong convoys of English. So that we suppose the benefits of that place will not counterpoise the necessary charges which must be expended in the maintenance thereof.

To the fourteenth, whereby you order and give power unto the General for the establishing of the old and settling of new factories in this kingdom, he hath by this Council substituted four several factories, whereof Suratt to be the principal, and all the rest to have reference and dependence on the same; and Mr. Kerridge to be chief merchant for the Honourable Company throughout the whole dominions of the Great Mogoll, and to have his residence in Suratt and not to depart from thence except by urgent occasion required.[1] The names of the several factors now remaining in these parts, and in what factories they are ordered to reside is here inserted.

Factors in Suratt.

Mr. Kerridge (prime).
Tho. Barker.
Tho. Mettford.
Samuel Saltonstall.
Henry Woodrofe.
Jno. Leachland.
Wm. Martine.

Attendants on the factory of Suratt.

Robt. Hutchinson.
Nich. Howard.
Jno. Goodwine.
Robt. Tottle.
Samuel Toller, who was left on shore by accident.

Factors in Agra and Agemere.

Wm. Byddulph.
Fran. Fettiplace.
Joseph Saltbanke.
Robt. Yong.
Robt. Hughes.
Jno. Yong.

Attendants on the factory of Agra.

Wm. Nelson.
Wm. Partridge.
Jacob the Dutchman.

Factors in Amadavaz.

Jno. Browne.
Robt. Gipps.
Christopher Farwell.
Antony Wallis.
James Biggford.

Attendants on the factory of Amadavaz.

Rich. Lankaster.
Jno. Tucker.

[1] See Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 55.

Factors in Brampoore.
Nich. Bangam.
Tho. Sprake.
Lawrence Waldoe.

Attendants on the factory of Brampoore.
Jno. Bangham.

To the fifteenth article: neither Spanyard nor Portingall have this year molested us, as not having recovered (as we conceive) their last year's losses; but a common rumour of a greater strength expected from Portingale against the next year.

The sixteenth: we doubt not you shall understand our care to religious worship shall be such as you desire.

The seventeenth: Henry Smith and Roger Prowd mentioned are both deceased, and Nathaniel Mountney returned in the Hope and those left here disposed of according to order.

To the twentieth, concerning advice by way of Achine: when we shall understand by the General what course he hath taken at Pryaman, etc., we shall not be wanting in our advice by every fit opportunity.

To the twenty-first: the accounts of these parts shall be kept according to your direction.

Having thus jointly and briefly delivered our answers to all those several articles specified in the Commission which either may concern us or your affairs in these places, it may please you to be further advertised that we received your letters per Captain Wm. Keeleing, directed to Wm. Edwards, etc., for answer whereunto we refer you to Tho. Kerridge and Jno. Browne their letter sent by the Lion, who hath particularly answered to each part thereof, the copy whereof (for so much as is requisite for answer unto the said letter) we herewith send.

We had late intelligence from the Lord Ambassador of the apprehension of Pierce, an English fugitive, who had purloined 420 rupies from the factors at Amadavaz,[1] and that the greatest part of the said money is recovered, as appeareth by his Lordship's letter, the copy whereof we herewith send. We have also received 200 mah [mudis] of those that brought the indigoes from Amadavaz, in full satisfaction of [a] churle of Serquese indigo which by their neglect was lost in the carriage thereof, so that there is one churle less of the said indigo shipped in the Lion than is

[1] See p. 229; also *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 126.

specified in the invoice. Also, whereas it is mentioned in the said invoice of eleven carpets to be shipped for account of the Honourable Company, it may please you to take notice that the General, having knowledge that five of those carpets did appertain to a private person in this kingdom, delivered them to the said person, to whom in equity they did belong.

Since the writing of the former of our letter we understand that the Lord Ambassador hath received letters from Steele and Crowther, dated in Spahan, which was advised by Edward Haynes, the Lord Ambassador's secretary, to a factor in Amadavaz, importing as followeth: that Mr. Crowther is upon his return for Agemere, and Steele ready to proceed on his journey for England; and that the Turk is coming with three armies into Persia against the Sophie, intending to invade his territories in three several places, by Bagdatt, by Armenia, and by Tropisond; which forceth the Sophie to destroy all the borders of his country adjoining upon these three passages, thereby to disfurnish the Turk of victuals and other necessaries for the relief of his armies; and that Sir Robert Sherly is sent by the Sophie as Ambassador into Spayne, with an offer unto the King of Spayne of the whole trade of his gulf, and place to fortify, and they to have all the trade of his silks and other commodities solely to themselves, which is thought will be a great hindrance to our trade here, the Mogoll being desirous to incline to the stronger, and by the peace made with the Spannyard by the Sophie will take example by him and incline to the Portingales. Sir Robert Sherly went from Ormuse with his wife and a great train for Spayne in January last. This is the effect of Steele's letter, dated in Spahan the 16th of October, 1615.[1]

And thus not having at present whereon further to enlarge, we humbly take our leaves, committing you and the good success of your honourable designs to the protection and guidance of the Almighty; in hope whereof we rest.

Subsigned by

Tho. Kerridge. Tho. Barker.
Jno. Browne. Tho. Mittford.
Robt. Gipps.

[1] Not extant.

II.

[Benjamin Farie] to Richard Cocks at Firando.[1]

In Judea,[2] the 26 May, 1616.

CAPTAIN COCKS, With due respect etc.

Your letters sent in the Sea Adventure, directed to Mr. Gourny,[3] I received at my coming to Siam the 10 March past. For you shall understand that Mr. Gourny, by a council held in Bantam (whereof General Downton principal, with Mr. Jourdaine etc.) was called away from this place by their letters sent him in the Solomon, to proceed in her for the Coast, expecting to have found Mr. Gourny in Pattana, who was then remaining in Siam. And upon advice by letters sent him from Pattana (upon the arrival of the Solomon) he with Mr. Luccas and Mr. Sheppard, who both having embarked themselves before the receipt of these letters in a junk bound for Pottania, took a resolution, sent along with Mr. Luccas for Puttania, that, if possible, he would presently follow him to take his place allotted in the Solomon, but failing, then the Solomon to remain in Puttana or Sangora to attend his coming until April past[4]; which by a council of merchants upon Mr. Luccas' arrival was not thought fit nor beneficial for the Right Honourable Company our masters; whereupon it was concluded that in regard the Solomon had her full lading should presently with the monson proceed on her voyage for the Coast, Mr. Luccas principal, together assisted with Adam Denton, Mr. Brockedon and the rest of factors, etc.; and Mr. Robert Larkine to remain principal in Pottania: myself to come for Siam, in case of Mr. Gourny's departure. And having despatched all their business embarked themselves (the monson near spent) to carry themselves clear of islands which lieth some 35 leagues off Pottana, set sail the 17th of October. Mr. Gourny arriving in Puttana about the prime of November following, and understanding of their proceedings, finding a great parcel of benjamin, viz., 140 p[ecu]lls which came from Camboja some three days after Mr. Luccas' departure for account of the Seventh Voyage, and 60 p[ecu]ll for account of the Ninth

[1] From a rough draft (in Farie's handwriting) now in *Factory Records: Misc.*, vol. xxiv., f. 18. [2] Ayuthia (Siam). [3] See vol. iii., p. 245. [4] See vol. iii., p. 157.

Voyage, bought a junk to transport himself, Mr. Sheppard and goods for Bantam, who were to set sail within two days after my departure from Pottana, which was the 25th February last, in company of a small ship called the Advice, which came out of England in November, 1614, in company with another small pinnace called the Attendant, and arrived in Bantam about the prime of August, who was presently dispeeded and sent for Japonn with a cargazon of goods directed unto you, and the monzon being spent, having lost their merchant, and most part of their men sick and weak, meeting with extremity of foul weather, were forced with contrary winds upon the coast of China; and sending one of their men on land to buy such provisions whereof they had great want, was at his landing violently carried away from their boat, seeking to betray the ship and men, whereof, God be thanked, they were dismissed; the master, John Tottens, taking three Chinezes in lieu of the man left behind him, and left them in Pottana, using them exceeding kindly both on shipboard and aland; who now, I think, be gone back for China in a junk which came this year to Sangora from that place.

Sir, I have laden aboard the Sea Adventure for account of the Right Honourable Company our masters 2,400 peccolls of sapon wood, with 3,700 of deerskins, which cost with all customs, bribes and duties as per invoice herewith sent you. Also I herewith send you a bill of exchange for moneys here delivered to Shobicke, captain of a junk now bound for Langosacke in Japonn, upon which he is to pay you within thirty days of his arrival three hundred and twenty-eight tayes Japonn of current coin.[1] And I have laden aboard the said Captain Shobick's junk 4,560 deerskins, which I bought from a Portingall after they were laden (not being able to mark them according), and cost as per invoice herewith sent you appeareth.

There is also laden in the said Captain Shobick's junk for account of Andrewes Dytty[2] 440 deerskins; which with 4,560 skins of the Company maketh 5,000, for the which you are to pay freight upon delivery 24 skins upon the hundred skins, both for account of the Company and also for the 440 skins which be laden for account of the aforesaid Dyttye, which cost clear

[1] See p. 89. [2] Chief of the Chinese community at Hirado.

aboard the junk 24 tayl Siam silver, being the whole proceed of the 16 peccoll of brimstone which you sent in the Sea Adventure,[1] and with what difficulty procured Mr. Edmond Sayers can advise you at large, who comes along in Nocho [da] Gipwhane ['s] junk, wherein I have laden for account of the Right Honourable Company our masters 852½ [2] peccoll of wood, which cost with freight and all other charges 25 cattes Siam coin. Also I have delivered him 16 cattes 14½ tayle Siam coin, for the which Nachoda Gipwhane is to pay at his arrival in Langosacke 1,373 tayes Japon coin, his junk, goods, and body being bound for the performance hereof, as by his contract, which I intend to send you by Mr. Sayers, appeareth.

Hereinclosed I send you a brief[3] of divers things which the King of Siam requireth to be furnished from Japon, which, if you can, pray accomplish.

As for the sales of the Surratt clothing you sent along in the Sea Adventure, I refer you to the advice of Mr. Sairs, entreating you that if you have red selas, allyas Cambay and Surratt, chader, lollwee champell and burrall, blue biramy, white baftas (if not rotten), lunges and footaes[4] of all sorts that will not vend in Japon, to ship them away for this place (although great quantity), which will soon vent here; praying you to take notice that seala, red and blue biramyes and white bafta for quantity will yield 30 r [ial] s per corge, being of those sorts which cost 10 and 12 r [ial] s per corge. For the other sorts of goods before mentioned, I cannot certainly advise you, but upon credible information do presume will yield good profit.

Since my coming to Siam I have sent a good car [gazon] of goods for Camboya in charge of Mr. George Savedg and John Facy, to whom I have given o [rder] s for the providing of lomra,[5] a black varnish, and lignum alloes aga [inst] the next year, which I hope in God will be returned [to this] place in readiness against the junk's com [ing] from Japon. Also with God's assistance I do intend to make provision if may be of 20,000 deerskins, with

[1] See vol. iii., p. 248. [2] On p. 89 a different quantity is given. [3] Not extant.

[4] These names of piece-goods are difficult to identify. *Baftas*, *lungis*, *chadars*, and *allejas* (a striped silky stuff) are well known; *sealas* or *zelas* (p. 129) may be a material for turbans, with gold thread interwoven (cp. Hind. *chillā*); *lollwee* seems to be connected with Hind. *lāla*, 'red'; *burrall* is probably Hind. *biral*, 'of delicate texture'; *biramy* is a soft stuff 'resembling Holland cloths' (vol. i., p. 29); and *foota* (cp. p. 50) may be conjectured to be Hind. *phūta*, 'variegated.' [5] See p. 87.

what sapong wood I possibly can get, much fearing want of money for the accomplishing hereof; wherefore pray send along in the Sea Adventure some 3,000 r [ials] or tayes Japon, enclosed within a chest of goods or bale, keeping it secret from the knowledge of your mariners, who hath much hindered the Company's affairs this year in advising what goods and moneys the junk brought with her.

Sir, whereas there was provided and brought down to the river's mouth 2,400 p [ecco] ll wood, whereof part left behind for want of room, whereof I understanding, not being able to draw a true invoice, fearing the Company might be abused herein, entreated from Captain Adams to be truly informed what wood the mariners had laden aboard for their particular account; which he denied, alleging that they were all true men and might lade what they please in their pottaccoes [1]; whereof I pray take notice, for I assure you the Company are exceedingly abused herein by his large privileges granted to his purser and rest, whereby I think the junk to be two-thirds laden by himself and mariners.[2]

Further, every 1,000 p [ecco] ll of wood weighed in Siam per the King's beam makes out by the merchant's beam 1,240 peccoll or more, whereof there hath been [divers (times) ?] made proof and riseth accordingly.

III.

The Factors at Surat to Sir Thomas Roe at Ajmere.[3]

Suratt, the 26th May, 1616.

RIGHT Honourable, Our duties remembered, etc. Our last unto your Lordship by a pattamare express we dispeeded the 3rd of the past month,[4] wherein we insisted on the Customer's continual delays in the finishing our accounts, etc.; since when, viz. the 12th current, we received your letter of the 26th April,[5] with the several

[1] Junks; see vol. iii., p. 335. [2] Cp. pp. 150, 260, 268.

[3] From a copy in *Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., part i., f. 36.

[4] 'May 3' is meant (see f. 24 of the same volume).

[5] Printed in *The Embassy* (p. 164).

firmaens your Lordship's letter to Abram Chan, etc., mentioned; at the instant receipt whereof the Governor, on affairs of the Prince's, was set forth of the city on an intended journey of fifteen days. Whereof we having knowledge, to prevent the loss of so much time, rode forth, met and delivered the said firmaens and letter, which with much respect (as well your Lordship's as the Prince's) he received, and having perused seemed sorry that his occasions by his journey withheld the present performance of their contents, promising that at his return all things should be accomplished accordingly, and in the meantime, the Prince's order being joint, willed us to show the firmaen to Sally Beage; who, delivering us a copy of theirs, reserved another of ours (as custom). Since when we have had meetings with the Customer, who dissemblingly excuseth himself and lays all the blame on Zulpheckarchan, and now would perform all things to our own desires; whereto having agreed on the particulars remaining, we came to the valuation of our goods; and disagreeing on the first (being the cloth), after some hours spent to no purpose, all is referred until the Governor's return, which then we shall prosecute with earnestness requisite and advise your Lordship the success; and now will endeavour your further satisfaction in answer to the materials of yours requiring reply.

The want of speedier information of the particulars extorted by Zulpheckarchan seemeth to have hindered your Lordship's intent and expectations (to the prejudice of your cause), to which point in a former we advised our dependence by hope of their daily promises for satisfaction here, which we the rather desired as knowing the prosecution of like businesses at Court are tedious, displeasing, and incertain, which (as we conceived) was a reasonable motive to defer the premisses. For the declaration under the Prince's hand, contradicting Zulpheckarchan's affirmation of our expulse, which your Lordship willeth to have published, we received no other than the general firmaen, wherein is a clause to that purpose; which until the Governor return, who we doubt not will satisfy our desires at full in that point, we defer the publication in the manner required, yet by other means have divulged it to the knowledge of most whom it may concern, although by provisions therein mentioned our slender

esteem with the Prince, and his jealousy of our nation, is more manifested than ever heretofore; which we endeavour to possess these chiefs was occasioned by Zulpheckarchan his false suggestions of some sinister intents of ours.

We perceive your Lordship's opinion of the Persian business and your honourable care in the furtherance thereof. We know no means for the seconding of your advice except by way of Messelpatan, which will be very tedious, for (as by writing from thence) there will be no conveyance until October next, at which time the cape merchant (Mr. Lucas Anthewnise) will go for Bantam, and thence for England, but whether in the Solomon or what other vessel he adviseth not; so that if a ship the next year return from hence, there will be little distance (as we hope) in the time of their arrival.

We received Mr. Crowther's and Steele's joint journal of their observations in their travels, but neither particular or general advice of hopes or despair of trade in Persia; wherein they have failed of what by injunction was expected from them, first in their neglect of joint advice (by a pettamare express) from Spahan, secondly by Mr. Crowther's particular omission thereof from Candahare, where (by his writing) he attended a month for company, and lastly from Lahore, from either of which places had he advised, the Honourable Company by the Lion without further charge or hazard might not only have received certain informations, together with our general opinions of that affair, but also have prevented[1] Sir Robert Sherlie's dishonourable office to his nation[2]; besides which benefit to our principals, himself also had received condign respect in his preferment, which we, though in affection desire, cannot order, but at the coming of the ships (for your Lordship's good respect) shall endeavour to extenuate this error, and with our best assist for his fairer preferment. . . .[3]

It hath pleased your Lordship out of your honourable disposition to give us particular relation of the manner of your proceeding in these causes. Our misery is the greater that this place is

[1] Anticipated. [2] His embassy to Spain.

[3] See p. 203. The succeeding paragraph has been omitted, as it contains only explanations of the claims made against Zúlfikár Khán.

the Prince's, whose ill affection to our nation is manifest. Had it remained in the power of any of the nobility, as formerly, you might doubtlessly have had justice of the King to content; but none indeed could have been so insolent as Zulpheckarchan, except protected by so great power as the Prince's, gainst whom none of the nobility will dare to complain, much less those whose places compel us to seek unto for the preferment of our causes, as the Queen, Etamadola,[1] Asuph Chan, etc., of his faction; so that being destitute of toys for presents (which above all things prevail with the King and stop the mouths of all the aforesaid), round dealing is the next to be embraced; which if it procure not honourable respect to your place and person, and satisfaction to us, at the coming of the ships it is in your Lordship's hand to remedy, by laying hold on theirs here in the port at their arrival from the Red Sea, whereby you shall not only procure both the aforesaid, and put them in mind to prevent future inconveniencies, but also obtain the ratification of all such articles and demands as now you mention, or may in the meantime be thought needful for the better establishing and continuance of our trade, which without some such course we fear will not be easily granted; from whence also they may observe how to deal in the affairs of our Prince, in giving due respect to his ambassador to hear and discuss your causes as requisite, without reference or mediation of those that are either our enemies and unsound, or want discretion to consider of your affairs, etc. But this is no usual custom to whom they give due respect. The King of Persia his ambassador speaks in his own person free with what liberty he pleaseth, is honourably entertained and often presented by the King, visited and presented by the nobility, and every way valued as befits his place; otherwise he will not endure it, as some of them for the least abuse offered them have done many outrages, as your Lordship may be informed; wherein we cannot but acknowledge the causes are different, he being a potent Prince bordering on these territories, and ours far off, whose greatness is scarcely known or not believed. To this course (through the disturbance which will depend thereon) may be objected that it will hinder the return

[1] Itimád-uddaula, father of Ásaf Khán and Núr Mahál.

home of one of our ships the next year; whereto we are of opinion it were better for the Company to want one year's return than to sustain continual damage by a dishonourable and base sufferance, which also may be prevented, for that your Lordship shall be sought unto, and for their release obtain whatsoever reasonable conditions you will require; which, besides the Company's future benefit and our quiet proceeding in our affairs, will increase your honour, esteem, and reputation with the King and nobility, without which it were dishonour to our King, nation, and your person to remain. This we have presumed to insert as our last and extremest remedy; and under your favourable correction will a little further insist on the necessity of the articles or conditions in your Lordship's mentioned.

The inconstancy and infidelity of this people caused the breach between Sir Henry Myddleton and them and what thereon ensued; in the interim whereof came Captain Best, who soon after, having knowledge of the past, feared to settle here, and having landed goods would have had them returned aboard and so departed; which the people [would ?] by no means condescend unto (though he surprised one of their ships for that cause) but as it were perforce with extraordinary kind usage and protestations, Mr. Aldworth being willing to hearken thereunto, detained us. And soon after Sheak Isuph, Dyvon[1] of Amadavaz (by the procurement of some greater courtiers) having received a firmaen from the King to that purpose came to Swally, treated and concluded a peace with our nation under conditions comprised in certain articles (whereof your Lordship hath a copy); which for want of sufficient linguists, were not translated into the Persian as requisite, but their firmes[2] for assurance were taken to the original in English, and others by them framed in the Persian, whereof (it being then omitted) we could never since obtain a copy. Captain Beste being departed, we received a firmaend from the King, directed to the English, ratifying in general terms what had been concluded by the said Sheak Isuph; which not being so sufficient as we desired, Mr. Paul Canning, appointed to reside in Court, was enjoined to procure the King's firm unto

[1] Díwán. [2] Signatures.

the said articles; who at his first arrival was referred to Moccrobchan, and in five or six weeks departed this life without effecting it; in whose place by appointment I[1] succeeded, and coming to the King at Agra some six weeks before his departure thence was also referred to Moccrobchan, with whom soliciting the point I found him so variable and incertain as we had more cause to doubt our safety than hope to obtain privileges. About which time the Portingales, distasting our reception, took one of their ships richly laden at this bar, which Mocrobchan (long before endeavouring to be dismissed the Court) promised the King to recover and for that cause was sent to Suratt; who, to draw them to more reasonable composition for restitution of the said goods, procured firmaens of several effects from the King, one of which permitted the English to fortify the castlets, Mondafrabade,[2] or any other place convenient, with many other privileges, whereby they thought we would have assisted them, or that the Portingales, to prevent our neighbourhood, would have yielded to the redelivery of their goods; and yet affirmed that the firmaen was granted at our suit, and with large promises would have had me with him, which I (knowing his intent) refused, except I might obtain what I had so long sought, or denial to the contrary.

After his departure, having recovered some slight debts of Paul Canning's from the King, I resolicited my former suit by the mediation of Coja Abullhasan,[3] who moved the King and, according to their manner, having consulted thereon referred me to another time for answer; where when I came (it being before determined) with some slender compliment and grace usual, they licensed my departure, wishing my repair to Moccrobchan, who had already order to effect the same to content. Having thus an unexpected licence, I intended to have retired to Suratt, where Moccrobchan some months before was arrived, and not prevailing with the Portingales by entreaty (for they demanded the delivery of the English, and many other inhuman conditions) with proclamations debarring them trade, etc., made show of provision for war. About which time having proceeded on my journey so far as Amadavaz, Mr. Aldworth, fearful of the event of the Portingales' demands, Sir Robert Sherly also coming from Synda[4]

[1] Kerridge. [2] See p. 300. [3] Khoja Abul Hasan. [4] Láríbandar.

to the Court,[1] and Mydnall through Persia, required my return, which was effected accordingly; where I had leisure and cause enough to observe (which your Lordship very rightly apprehends) the condition of the Court, state, and people, until the succeeding year, when by the arrival of Captain Downton's fleet, Mr. Edwards undertook to be leiger there; who (by our ships overcoming the Portingales, the Ranna[2] his yielding up his son, the King highly contented with our King's picture and presents (as he understood it[3]), was very graciously and lovingly received and promised whatsoever he would require; who only then desired answer to our King's Majesty's letter, which was granted and written in another manner than Mr. Edwards yet understands[4]; wherein, if I be not deceived, a present is mentioned, which his haste in the procuring, to send a mere copy with Steele and Crowther, omitted. At which time also the King out of his exceeding content, without the least motion thereto, ordered a firmaen for our fair usage to be delivered us.

Mr. Edwards then being often put in mind of the necessity of the King's confirmation of the aforesaid articles, disliked them, and purposed to draw others more substantial, which for other occasions it seems he also omitted; so that, firmaens (as your Lordship well conceiveth) being lightly esteemed, nothing hitherto hath been effected for the avoiding of abuses in our trade, neither doth the King understand wherein we are wronged, or hath ever heard the particulars of our first conditions and agreement. For when upon occasion I alleged them to a chief councillor at the Court, he denied that any such thing had been granted, which then I labouring by testimony to approve, he concluded that the King had not knowledge of them; and since, in Amadavaz, were made ridiculous, for in contempt thereof they wished us to seek to Shec Isuph for the performance, who, a mean gentleman of Mocrobchan's preferment to the King's service, died at the Court in disgrace, soon after my first coming thither.

From hence your Lordship may perceive the incertain props of our trade, besides which, under correction of your better judgment, the conditions now firmed to the Prince (their dispositions

[1] On his return from his first embassy to Europe. [2] Of Udaipúr (vol. iii., p. 310).
[3] Of course they were really provided by the Company. [4] See vol. iii., p. 28[illegible]

considered) may confirm our bondage to more sufferance than hath yet been tolerated, and are such as never before were propounded, for in the prosecution thereof they may do us many abuses (in taking of our goods) which we cannot avoid. The particulars we will not iterate, but refer them to your wisdom to be considered.[1]

It hath further pleased your Lordship to insist on the principal necessary causes for the continuance of our trade, the one our good reception and privileges, the other the vent of our commodities. To the first, it hath not been understood (as we conceive) that our entertainment proceeded from affection, but rather through fear, occasioned by the example of Sir Henry Myddleton; neither is it the Prince's want of affection only, but the Portingales bringing in of more profits by customs and presents than we; and the merchants of this place are also undone by our trade to the Southwards, which hath taken (as we may term it) the meat out of their mouths, and overthrown their trade that way, besides the oppression and wrong done them (chiefly for our cause) by the Portingales, so that of feared evils they chose in appearance the least, though it have proved otherwise, for since our coming this port is undone, which in their griefs they spare not sometimes to tell us, and had the Portingale in their enterprises against us prevailed, (as your Lordship rightly allegeth) we had ere now been expulsed; so that as our entertainment was in a manner forced, our privileges and good usage (if at all, as we fear) must accordingly be obtained and continued.

For the second foundation, the vending of our commodities, we make no question but that store of goods may be brought which will yield both good profit and ready money here. Lead, tin, and divers others are staple commodities; 150 or 200 choice cloths will sell also to good profit; swords and the like are of small import, in lieu whereof divers other things may be brought, and though perchance they fail one year in present sales, yet merchants are to seek out and send (at adventure) whatsoever may be hoped will yield benefit. And though all these should fail, the commodities of this country may have such current

[1] This account by Kerridge of the beginnings of English trade in India brings out several fresh and important facts.

vent in some of our neighbour lands as will produce more ready coin than the Company shall need to send hither to supply this trade.[1]

Your Lordship's exceeding care hath yet further proceeded in your honourable affection to our masters by your proposition for the sending of cloth for Lahore and Bengala, and the discovery of Sinda, etc. The first hath not yet been attempted, though often inquired, and by all information found very unfitting, for the city of Lahore spends little cloth, though indeed merchants from divers parts come thither, of whom a great part are Persians, which buy none, and the rest of Cabull, etc., borderers, which buy very little, and usually, having sold their goods at Court, make their chiefest investments in Agra, which (next to Agemere) we hold to be the principalest place for the sale of our commodities. Bengalla generally is a hot country; the most of the inhabitants very poor Gentiles; and upon the sea coast, where there is any hope of benefit, the Dutch and Portingales have trade; whereby we conceive that the transportation by land thither will be more hazardous and chargeable than the benefit by the sale of a small quantity can answer. The port of Synda, and the conveniency thereof, hath been discovered by Captain Newporte, etc., in the Expedition, who (forasmuch as we have heard) gave no great encouragement to a second attempt, and as by report (Ormuse being near thereunto) the Portingales have better means to oppress us with multitude of shipping, there being no such place for shelter as the bar of Swally, as also, by their continual trade and recourse thither, have more friends and power to work a stratagem on our people on the shore than in any other place of this King's dominions, having thirty, forty, or fifty persons resident at the port for despatch of their affairs, who will prevent our transportation of goods by the river from Lahore, and rather leave the place (which the governors and inhabitants will hardly condescend unto) than to give way to our admittance.[2]

For the Persian business, as before, we understand little of what hath been effected, and therefore can say least to Mr.

[1] For further correspondence on this subject, see p. 325, and *The Embassy*, pp. 165–7.

[2] On these various projects, see p. 326; also *The Embassy*, p. 218.

Saltbank's journey,[1] yet doubt not (as we desire) there may be good done that way; wherein we must refer us to your Lordship, as having more particular relation of that affair.

For Sir Robert Sherly, some of us do partly know his ends, and are persuaded he cannot effect anything in that business to our prejudice, if attempted with strength to daunt the Portingal. . . .[2]

The slender hope of the sale of the Company's cloth at Court, except your Lordship assist by moving the King to take some quantities, hath induced us to second our former advice therein, which, if it be not prejudicial to your place and more honourable designs, we doubt not the event will be prosperous.

Thus relying on your Lordship's generous acceptance, we have presumed to insert our opinions at large to each particular of your Lordship's letter; and with our prayers for all happiness to attend your Lordship, we humbly take leave and rest

At your Lordship's command.

IV.

George Woolman to [Captain Pepwell].

Callecut, the 15th of July, 1616.[3]

RIGHT Worshipful, Our duties remembered, etc. May it please you to understand that whereas it hath unhappily fallen out since the departure of Right Worshipful General Keelinge, Esq., whose letters directed to your Worship, as touching the business done and agreements made between the Great Samorine [4] and he for the

[1] A proposal by Roe to send Salbank on a journey of discovery overland to Lárībandar and Jask. The project was abandoned in consequence of the factors' opposition (*Embassy*, p. 331).

[2] A paragraph is here omitted which deals only with the wages of William Nelson.

[3] From a copy in Pepwell's Letter-book (*Marine Records: Misc.*, vol. ii.).

For Woolman, see note on p. 64. The Court Minutes mention that he had been 'brought up in Lynn as a merchant, and employed into Spain and Portugal, and hath those languages and the Dutch.' He died August 17, 1616.

With this letter, compare Hawes' account in *Purchas* (vol. i., p. 603).

[4] See p. 64.

settling here in this country of Malabar, as also our advices, which we according to commission despatched away for the Mogool's dominions to our English factories, were by the way intercepted, our post robbed, who returned unto us with unfavourable news this present month. This news seemed very distasteful unto us, being moved with a jealousy that the Portug[uese] laid out for them; but as yet we are not certain of anything, otherwise than our post affirmeth.

The loss of our advice was not so much to be regarded as the loss of our General's letter, directed unto your Worship, the contents whereof are unknown unto us, and for that respect it fell out very crossly, in missing of his advice; but your Worship must have patience, and with the information from us to your Worship, what we have seen hitherto as that we shall see between now and your Worship's arrival, God permitting, I hope will resolve you suddenly what is to done as touching merchandising affairs.

Now under correction, if it please your Worship to give leave, we will in a word (for not being tedious) relate unto you in what manner it fell out with us to fall upon this coast.

This place of Callicutt is in latitude betwixt 11d. 10 [m.] and 11d. 20 [m.]; and directly again[st] this place we stood in with the shore, giving chase to a sail, and approached as near the shore as we could after him, which we found to be a Malabar belonging to Callicutt, as we understood, which fell out contrary to our expectation. And being near the shore there came many boats aboard our ship; amongst which one came with news from the Samorin to our General, certifying him that his King the Samorin was very desirous to have some conference with the English nation, not to prejudice them any kind of way, but that his propositions he meant to declare unto them should be as beneficial to our nation as profitable to himself. Upon which our General with his council considered of it, and determined to speak with the Samorin, who was at Caranganor, laying siege to the fort the Portingall hath near adjoining. This place of Caranganor is in latitude 10d. 15 [m.].[1] There we arrived the 5th of March in the evening. The 7th ditto our General was going toward shore and there was some twelve sail of frigates

[1] See p. 64. It is really 10° 13′ 50″.

making towards them to intercept him, which caused him to return aboard again. But that day it was so ordered amongst the ships for riding near the shore within shot that our General went ashore at pleasure. There he spent a whole day in conferring, so that before his coming aboard the business was concluded in manner and form as you shall understand by the copy of agreements[1] which we have sent your Worship hereinclosed. March the 9th we were put ashore, being five in number, three as factors, two as attendants. Our fleet departed the 12th of March. Our cargazon left with us was but small to see to, but too great for this place as we find it. April the 22nd we arrived at Callicutt by sea, with our cloth and some benjamin with a quantity of tin, leaving the greater quantity of tin at the Samorin's house to be sent after us, wanting as then conveyance for it. This tin and benjamin we took in a Portugal ship upon this coast. The ship our General took along with him. We have here some sword-blades and looking-glasses; they are very good presents but bad merchandise. So that we dare not advise your Worship to bring any commodity whatsoever while[2] we see further of it.

The Governor did enforce the merchants to deal for part of our cloth, the price being made at 35 fannons[3] per covido, Portugal measure (the fannon at 6*d.* sterling), five months' time, and at the end of it I pray God send us our money; but our chiefest hope relies on the Governor. The cloth (though it be little they here desire) they would willingly have no other colour but stamells and red. But, as I said before, we dare not write for any; and while[2] the Portingall be feared away from Achin[4] I think there will be little to be done in this place or parts, for they have been the ruining of this place, that the merchants dare not adventure by sea for them.

The Portingalls are very much afraid of our being here in this country, fearing it will be very prejudicial unto them for future times.

It would be very royal for our King and country if it please His Majesty to accept the Samorin's proffers, and will be without[5] very commodious a thing, very easy to be done with a few expert

[1] See p. 64. [2] Probably 'until' is meant. [3] Fanams. [4] A mistake for Cochi
[5] Without doubt?

men. There was one Stamfort, a gunner's mate of one of our ships, that was left here with us in nature of an attendant unto us, as also upon occasion to assist the Samorin, within eight or ten days after his coming ashore ran away like a rogue to the Portingalls; and by the way he fell into company with the King of Achin's[1] soldiers, and they conducted him to their King, who are all one with the Portingalls. This fellow hath done much villainy since his going and doth practise himself against the Samorin; the which hath been a great disgrace unto us. The Samorin doth make light of it before us, but it grieveth him full sore we know.

Here was a boat put ashore on this coast since our coming with certain Portingalls in her, who were presently apprehended and sent to the Samorin, one of the which is a man's son of good account in Cochin, who with the rest the Samorin detains whilst they send our man again. There hath been great suit made by the Portingalls to the King of Cochin for him, but he will not release him till the ships come and then he will present him to your Worship, as it is given out it is his intent. This news we have; other news none worth writing.

We desire your Worship, if so it please you, to let us hear from your Worship. There will be boats of Mallabar daily at Surratt, trading this way, being that time of year serves them. Thus ceasing to trouble you, we rest, with our prayers to the Almighty to bless you in all your proceedings.

Post scriptum.—Pepper they hold here at a very high rate, too high for us I think to do any good upon, at 28 ryolls of eight per bahar (the bahar contains 20 mands, the mand agreeing nearest with 26lb. English weight). But, howsoever, I think it be my best course to provide the proceed against your coming, if I can be permitted. If there were any money worth the carrying away I would very hardly deal in anything this year; neither am I certain what course I shall take as yet. Thus craving pardon, I rest.

[1] Cochin, as before.

V.

The Factors at Surat to Sir Thomas Roe, July 23 & 26, 1616.[1]

RIGHT Honourable, Your several letters of the 12th and 21st May, the 6th and 8th June we received, which long ere this had been answered, if either our business with the Customer (yet uneffected) had required the sending of a pettimare express, or opportunity by other conveyance permitted to have certified of our proceedings. . . .

Soon after the dispeed of our last, Abram Chan being returned, we prosecuted the effecting of our business according to the intent of the Prince's firmaen, wherein we found the Governor very ready and willing to further us. And having proclaimed (according to the country's custom) the Prince's pleasure in the point of the continuance of our trade, a meeting for our other business was appointed at the Custom-house, where the Governor, Sally beage,[2] and the Customer being present, divers of our goods were valued, and some things of small moment returned; and since at sundry times, though with much unwillingness, delays, and dishonesty in the Customer, all our other goods, both inward and outward, are valued at reasonable rates. . . .[3]

The Judge of the Alfandica[4] by the coming of another about six days' since by order from the Prince resigned his place, whether for our cause directly or other men's is incertain, for through some violence done by him to a chief bannyane, the whole multitude assembled shut up their shops and (as their custom), after a general complaint to the Governor, left the city, pretending to go to the Court for justice, but with much fair usage and fairer promises were fetched back by Abram Chan, who joining with them informed his master of many insolencies committed by this peevish Customer, which, with your Lordship's complaint, is generally observed to be the cause of his expulsion. . . .[5]

[1] From a copy in *Factory Records; Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., part i., f. 50. The letter is very lengthy, and it has consequently been necessary to omit much of the less important matter.

[2] Sálik Beg, the Díwán (see p. 347).

[3] Here follows a long account of the negotiations with the Governor and other officials.

[4] Custom-house.

[5] Three paragraphs, relating to the bribe to the 'Customer' and sales at Surat and at the Court, are omitted.

Of the complaints and reformation at Amadavaz we have been advertised. They certified us they were forced to remove. The house they have taken is very reasonable, and the moneys to be repaid when they leave their habitation. Asseph Chan's letter[1] prevailed with Sarder Chan for restitution of the 500 rupp[ees] and their better usage; but of him, the articles to be obtained, their promises, etc., our reply to some other particulars will require a large discourse.

Of the pattamar's return from Goa[2] our last hath informed you. We hear of no preparations for war there, other than for the succour of Mallacca, and that incertain. The Jesuits having left this place, and this season not permitting the Portingal trade, hindereth our knowledge of their proceedings; which notwithstanding, we shall be mindful by advice to prepare the expected fleet for their entertainment. . . . .[3]

The Prince's instancing[4] our expulsion is questionless understood by the King, who of more experience knoweth better how to deal with strangers and will not slightly be induced thereto. The reasons he declared[5] are known and common, for upon all motions of privileges and complaints it hath been their practice to stop our mouths with the grossness of our commodities and the Porting[als'] rarities; but fear of our ships hath and must hold us here if we continue; which also, if they come seasonably (your Lordship so pleasing), may yet constrain the Prince's better liking and yielding to what is reason. Touching this point in our last we were very large, which yours answereth not, but by a new proposition of weightier consequence than we are able to determine, infer your dislike.

Our desires for the continuance of this trade, which with so great cost and travail hath been attempted and obtained and wherein so many have spent their days, distracteth not so much our opinions and judgments of the dissolution, as necessity compelleth us to question the many difficulties, as well for our clearing hence as the satisfaction of our principals at home, who,

1. See *The Embassy*, p. 170, etc.

2 Sent with Roe's letter to the Viceroy (vol. iii., p. 197).

3 The portion here omitted deals chiefly with points of detail in Roe's letters of May 21 and June 18, the claims against Zúlfikár Khán, the position of Mr. Crouther, etc.

4 Importuning.

5 See *The Embassy*, p. 167.

a body consisting of many members, will not easily be satisfied with words in lieu of expected profit. What our desires are, our formers do express; what were requisite on terms of honour we also acknowledge; but what they, as merchants, will suffer rather than lose this trade is incertain. We have according to direction particularly considered and generally consulted on the passages of your Lordship's discourse and find them agreeable with the course of former times in that court and the people's dispositions, who in all are basely incertain and full of delays; which notwithstanding, for more important reasons than the loss, etc., we presume to offer alleged, we are enforced to dissent; whereto, to let pass all other contradictions worthily considered by your Lordship, as our cloth and commodities unsold, the difficulty of our retiring, etc., we presume to offer to your consideration these subsequent reasons. The Honourable Company, upon certain hope of this trade, do make yearly provision of shipping and commodities for this place, which, though some of them sell poorly and slowly here, will be fit for no other. Besides which, apparent loss must of necessity follow the setting forth of a greater number of ships than their occasions (without this trade) do require; from either of which the unavoidable damages in expectation to arise are so many and weighty as may better be conceived than expressed, which therefore we omit to particularize and refer it to your serious consideration.

For the purchase by the surprisal intended, it cannot be this year, for their ships will arrive if not as soon as ours, yet very shortly after, and, intercepted at the bar, will detain your Lordship, our goods and the people on the land, and ere the one be permitted to pass, the other will be freed, and so, quit of our trade and trouble, we shall depart with loss.

If restitution, justice and privileges for better usage (contrary to our hopes) will not be granted, we are then of opinion that the Honourable Company by the first return be at large advised of all particulars of this trade, etc., whereof hitherto their intelligence hath been very incertain, answerable to these people's dispositions and proceedings. If upon better knowledge thereof they resolve by suffering these abuses to continue or, by withholding their commodities with caution and advice, order this dissolution,

giving us time to dispose of the goods already here, and to withdraw the proceed with our persons to this port, to be in readiness for transportation against some limited time, we shall better free ourselves from all inconveniences than now we can; when also the ships appointed hereto may be divided, a part to intercept the return of all these country vessels from the Red Sea, and one or two to come hither to fetch us and our goods from hence; for if they shall see us once departed and their ships at home we shall not make a voyage on them nor get restitution in three years after. This (if the trade cannot be continued but with base sufferance) we conceive to be the fittest for profit and safety; for honour we hold us to our first proposition. If you receive not content nor satisfaction from the Prince answerable your worthy employment and expectation, the stopping of his ship at the bar, if ours arrive first, will, we doubt not, compel him to much more than he will now hearken unto, which after their instance to your Lordship, satisfaction for wrongs, privileges, etc., confirmed, may be released. Your approbation or contradiction we desire, lest through ignorance we persuade the expected commander thereto.

For your retiring to Surrat, we have good hope that before your receipt hereof you have resolved the contrary. We are almost confident that the King will not suffer your depart in discontent, but upon knowledge of these wrongs will order your satisfaction, and consequently your continuance, which by another year's experience will give great satisfaction to the Honourable Company in what is fit for this continuance or dissolution. Our resolution in these points[1] (notwithstanding the inserted), we also herewith send you.

For Aeseph Chan and that faction, you rightly understand he as the rest serve the time. His alliance with the Prince is his greatest honour, whose favour he will not lose (if we may compare it) for many Christians' lives. There is no trust to the promises of Moors if the performance tend not to their profit. It hath been his policy to favour strangers, and (wanting better means) in his first rising made them instruments of his further grace; for knowing the King's extraordinary delight in toys,

[1] See f. 59 of the same volume.

acquainting himself with the Jesuits and Portingalls (after his sister's admittance to the Sarralya) he brought their presents, suits and them to the King, bargaining for their jewels, etc., thereby expressing his ability and better parts (till then obscure), which by his sister's means in short time purchased this alliance and advanced him to high offices; when, following affairs above, observing his fortune, I[1] sued his help and found him reasonable and honest. About which time, upon his knowledge of the arrival of Captain Downton's fleet (Macrobchan writing the King of our ships, ambassador[2] and presents) he entreated me to have their presenting, promising (as he can well) he would be our procurator; which with much compliment (whiles the presents lasted) he performed to Mr. Edwards, yet continued to be the Porting[als'] agent also, as I make no question he is now for their balasts,[3] etc. Your observation of him is doubtless otherwise than the broker's intelligence, whose information we fear may tend more to serve his own purposes than to express the truth.

Macrobchan is of the same stamp and at present, as your Lordship well observes, hath not the means to farther your business as the other; neither is there any of them that will oppose or intermeddle with what concerns the Prince, Mahobet Chan excepted, who is his enemy and hath more power and liberty than any of the rest. He hates Jelphercarchan,[4] and seeks his life. Had he been at the Court to have followed your complaints, the other had been ruined; but the time was chosen to call him up, for the other's presence would have hindered his secure living.

The Prince his going to Decan will draw a farther charge on the Company in maintaining some agent to solicit their affairs with him; for otherwise it will be an unnecessary charge to keep a factory there,[5] that (for anything we can perceive) must spend more than the difference in profit by sales 'twixt this and that place. Upon great encouragement and often advice we sent lead, elephants' teeth, and quicksilver for trial (as in a former advised), which yet remaineth unsold. The teeth we could have sold here as the rest, and so we think may they, but to some loss by the charge of transportation.

[1] Kerridge. [2] Edwards. [3] See p. 243. [4] Zúlfikár Khán. [5] Burhánpúr.

To the Persian Ambassadors' privileges we omit reply, and heartily wish you had not only better or more graceful usage but profit also equalling theirs, which by the King's Enawmes[1] are ofttimes great sums of money; but his bounty to Christians is as your Lordship hath received, which God in good time may convert. . . .

And where [as ?] your Lordship (dissenting from our opinions) doth allege that staple commodity cannot be had from Europe to drive this trade,[2] we answer that, as our experience is young, so our trade is yet in its infancy. The want of the first hath hindered the sale of quicksilver disembarked the former year, and (by means of a glut in the interim) kept it for a worse market, which time may reduce to a better price, otherwise it would not be brought from Portingall, China, and the Red Sea, as it is yearly; and for the latter, we conceive there are commodities in Europe not yet by us brought hither, which (though they be not staple) may assist to sustain the trade; if not, the South[3] may help to supply it, which we think will not be long unattempted. For elephants' teeth, there are quantities yearly sold in these parts, to almost as great values as our returns from India; lead is also staple and vends to good profit, though slowly; nor are they fallen in price, but sell dearer than at my first landing; both which were our mainest helps for our last year's return. Tin is no great commodity, yet nothing lost thereby. By choice cloth we mean fineness and the colours in yours mentioned, whereof the quantity prescribed we doubt not will sell. The glut makes it now disesteemed; and for the price it yields more than at our first coming was expected.

That the commodities from hence vending for silver in other countries can be no answer,[4] under correction of your better judgment we apprehend it otherwise; for silver which comes not thither cannot come thence, and consequently the State hath neither benefit or prejudice; but commodities carried from hence and transported to foreign parts gives double custom, the proceed whereof by re-employment bringeth continual profit, both to the State and Commonwealth. Our being members of

[1] *Ināms*, gifts. [2] See *The Embassy*, p. 165. [3] Bantam, etc.

[4] Here the factors take up again the argument regarding the drain of silver from Europe caused by the Company's trade (see p. 315).

Europe as citizens of England[1] were a very good reason to consider our proportion of the general poverty, if the members of Europe were also citizens of England; who, seeking their own benefit, weigh not our loss, as the Dutch transport a pound to our shilling, the Portin[gals] little less, besides the sums conveyed from many parts of Christendom into Turkay. And, more particularly, the moneys sent this way, if the trade were not, would be transported into Turky in greater sums to procure the commodities of this place. Besides which, we entreat your consideration that all the silver landed here this year amounteth not to above 4,000*l.* sterling; whereas the goods returned upon the Lion[2] amounteth to four times the sum; the rest is proceed of commodities, the custom whereof will bring more profit to the King's coffers than the want of a far greater quantity of silver to be coined in his mint; whereby you may be pleased to perceive the cry in this respect is without cause.

In that you agree not to our reasons for the not sending to Lahor, etc., we confess that because it hath not been attempted is no ground; but the reason why it hath not may be very sufficient to dissuade the enterprise, for though our information be not of trial in ourselves, yet our general knowledge of the country, use of the commodity, and report of others persuadeth us (which your Lordship's affirmation that it is not so much as inquired of at Agra strengtheneth); that failing, what expectation can there be of Lahore or Bengala, where there is only a Governor, who perchance will buy two or three cloths, which he may also have with a very little charge from Adjemere or Agra? If there were hope of sale, it would not want transportation by their own people. The alteration of times is in staple commodities, but that whereof there is so small alters little. I have often seen cloth brought from Persia to India, but never heard of any carried from India thither. That a merchant will deal where he finds commodity, not regarding the place, confirms us, for no man that is dry will go from a fountain to seek a rivulet

[1] To the factors' arguments in their previous letter Roe had replied: 'That these commodities will vent for silver in other countries our neighbours is no answer; for this comes not out of England which is now sent, and we are as well members of Europe as citizens of England, which is but one limb, and if the whole grow poor we bear our proportion' (*Embassy*, p. 166).

[2] See p. 293.

to quench his thirst. If it were probable that the Persian wars would make the indigo merchants invest in cloth, they will sooner buy it at Agemere or Agra than to return to Lahor, for till their goods are sold in one of the places mentioned they have not moneys. Should they desist to invest in indigo for the reason alleged, there are divers other commodities which would yield more profit than our cloth; but we see no fruit of their desisting, for, as by advice from the merchants, indigo, which the last year was worth in Agra 27 and 28 rup [ees], is now worth 35 rup [ees] per maen. The charge of transportation in five or six months' travel, with the usual profit by returns from India to Persia, will require double the principal invested, and consequently cannot be afforded but at such an unreasonable price as none will buy it; whereas if it be landed by us at Jasques, it may be afforded as cheap as when it is brought from Alleppo.

We deny not but that Bengalla brings wheat, rice, and sugar to Indya,[1] makes fine cloths, etc.; which showeth the fertility of the country and the quality of the inhabitants, who, being tillers of the earth and tradesmen, by their sales in India reap the fruit of their labours and sustain life, and some no doubt get wealth by merchandising. Yet it followeth not that cloth will therefore sell, which in those hot countries is spent in quantities by princes and gentry only. Of the first there is none, and of the latter very few. We acknowledge transportation by water thither is cheap; yet we think it were better to rot in Agemere, without farther charge and disgrace, than after expense of time and moneys to return it thither to no other purpose. Your Lordship should not need to persuade the performance of our duties, if the likelihood did promise but to defray the charge. Yet we will not be obstinate or trust to our own judgments; if you do know more probable reasons to induce these undertakings than we have alleged to the contrary, we will subscribe thereto. Only we desire to be blameless if the success be adverse, and do subject ourselves to condign censure if it prove otherwise.

For Sindaye, our last gave reason.[2] More we can allege, which proceeds from intelligence, not of certain knowledge. If misinformation wrong us not, we see not how a factory settled

[1] Used in the restricted sense of Hindústán Proper. [2] See p. 315.

there will strengthen those at Jasques more than this; for, as we understand, one fleet must supply both, who, having performed the business there, will come hither; otherwise the monsones will not permit our forces always to unite. But, this omitted, we conceive Sinda is no fitter for sales than this, for employments worse. The main of our investments being indigoes and baftas, which Amadavaz and Baroch do chiefly supply, a factory here cannot be excused. Besides that road, wilder than the bar of Surratt, hath no manner of defence as the road Sually, which the experience of Captain Downton's fleet resisting the Porting[al] galleons hath manifested; besides the danger in intercepting our boats to and from the shore, etc., their firing from the Banda,[1] would be with much difficulty; first, we are not so treacherous; then, whither shall we fly from this King's justice? Yet they, bent to mischief, will attempt it when we are weakest, escape in their frigates and make a new composition. We allege not this as fearing the Porting[als], but by knowledge of their treachery and this people's timidity, who either will be glad of occasion to be rid of us, or for fear of the Porting[als] put up the wrong.

For Persia: what Sir Robert Sherly could say I have often heard, and think he promised much more in England than he could perform. His last embassy to Spayne was dallied with and he departed thence in discontent, thinking to have performed something by persuasion in England; and in that I knew his ends I think I erred not; which perchance I might declare to your satisfaction, but why should I wrong him that trusted me? Yet this I am certain, that the present breach twixt the Turk and Persian, by some new inventive of his, is the cause of his present employment, the success whereof the sequel will declare, whereto I refer me. For the benefit to be expected by the Persian trade I know no more than he promised, which is enough to encourage prosecution, if the performance were not to be questioned. If it shall please you to send us the copies of what you received thence, to better our judgments, we shall endeavour to deserve that favour and discharge our best by advice or otherwise to the Company's benefit when occasion is offered. . . .[2]

[1] *Bandar* (landing-place).

[2] The omitted paragraph deals only with the wages of William Nelson.

We have considered your pleasure touching our remove to Baroch,[1] which in regard of our goods unsold is impossible for us to perform; yet we have published our purpose thereto, not only to the Governor but to all other officers. The unlikelihood makes them the less to regard it, though for respect they seem to credit our words, and by promise of fair dealing persuade the contrary, saying this year we shall receive more content than ever, and that the Prince hath given order no goods shall remain in the Custom-house, but so soon as it is landed be despatched and delivered the owner; but these are of course, which we must otherwise seek to prevent. The Governor hath always been very courteous, seemeth honest, and promiseth much; what lieth in his power we think he will perform. I have often conversed with him touching Zulphercarchan's base usage here, of his lies and perfidity above,[2] of the Prince's disrespect to your Lordship; thence, as a friend, upon receipt of your last seemed to advise him, for the honour and benefit of his master, to write unto him that if you received not satisfaction we could not stay in his government: that if Baroche were not convenient for the landing of our goods, we would seek Goga,[3] which heretofore hath been often in question. He professed much love, thanked me for my counsel, and promised his best furtherance in all our occasions; said then he would and now confirmeth he hath written very effectually.

And the more to credit our intent for removing our factory, I conversed with Myer Saphed, Cojabalasan's[4] deputy at Urpall,[5] and propounded unto him our passing through his Jagere.[6] He allegeth the port where we land is his master's, and if we please to bring our goods to Urpall, which is not past seven course from Sually, and the direct way from the ships to Barroch, we shall have the town at our service, and be as secure as in Surrat: that we shall make our own conditions, and have convoy for the transport of our goods to Baroche. This I did rather to confirm what we had published than in hope of success. That place is more commodious for the landing and transporting of our commodities than this, yet the inconveniencies which do depend thereon are greater. For first, we doubt Coja Abolasan will not oppose the Prince; secondly, the Prince will prohibit all

[1] See p. 202. [2] At the Court. [3] See p. 151. [4] Khoja Abul Hasan.
[5] Olpad, about twelve miles N.W. of Surat. [6] *Jágír*, distinct.

the inhabitants under his government to commerce with us, besides many other molestations to be expected; and lastly, the alfandica[1] of Baroch is a limb of Cambaya, and not Mahobet Chan's, as your Lordship hath been misinformed. The Jageer is his, but the port the King's, and is supplied with officers belonging to the Governor of Cambaya, who is deputed by the King to survey both. Which yet might be no inconvenience, if there were like hope for the sales of our commodities at Baroche as here.

Were Mahobet Chan at the Court to follow this, it would startle the Prince indeed, who, notwithstanding his neglect, would be loth to have us depart his city. If your Lordship hath had no fair conclusion with him, nor hope of his regaining, and that you apprehend this course to be fitting, it may please you to attempt it first with Coja Abalason, and by him with the King; which if he approve of and give allowance, the Prince will be wary how he oppose or wrong us.

Mr. Browne[2] hath endeavoured restitution of the moneys for double custom extorted by Aumonet Chan, the Governor of Cambaya's deputy. Their master requireth certificate of them of Baroche of the particulars, who by letters to him, to Mr. Browne and me denieth to have received anything, which is only a trick by his master's consent, who, poor and basely covetous, thinks by delays to defeat us. His son Mierzabeag married Aseph Chan's daughter, by which means Nurmall's faction holds him up, though the king esteem him not. Asseph Chan's effectual letter to him will not only procure restitution of the past, which is 105 ma[mudis] in Barroche and 188⅓ rup[ees] in Amadabaz: the deputy of Baroch 300 ma[mudis], and that of Amadabas 59 rup[ees] in bribes (both which latter may be borne with in regard of their offices, if the former, kept back without reason, might be restored): by his deputy in Baroch for custom of indigo, for which in Amadavaz he forced us to pay 1,136 rup[ees], viz. 1½ per cent., whereas the duty at Baroche at most is but 1¼ per cent.: so that he hath eaten on us, besides his custom, the said 805 ma[mudis]. In six or seven days I purpose a journey to Baroch, as well for the setting afoot some investments there, as to procure testimony from the brokers of

[1] Custom-house. [2] The chief factor at Ahmadábád.

he receipt of the moneys by this perfidious Moor denied; where I will also better my intelligence of Mahobet Chan's power in that city, and by Mr. Browne's conveyance advise your Lordship.

In the prosecution of affairs here we have discovered a main abuse continued by our brokers ever since our settling, who unknown to us have taken one per cent. (if not more) of the buyer for all the goods we sell and as much of us, as if they had no other salary. The latter henceforth we will abridge them; the past allowed by composition is without remedy. In this examination we had in question our Customers and find that the inhabitants do pay 2½ per cent. custom and no other duty; the Porting[als] and all other strangers, besides the said custom, do pay one per cent extorted, which they call the Customer's brokage. We were long doubtful whether it were paid the lord of the place or eaten by the officers, but find it is duly accounted by the Customer, and therefore, in regard of the Prince, who yet thinks it too little, we defer to solicit your Lordship in this question. . . .[1]

The General left us not sufficient moneys to pay our debts. Some sales we have made, and remitted 30,000 ma[mudis] to Amadabaz by exchange; 20,000 more we have in moneys and due debts, which we will speedily pass unto them; 4,000 rup[ees] they have received from Brampoore, where (as per a particular to one of us received yesterday) they have 6,000 rup[ees] more in cash, proceed of cloth and other goods sold the Prince Perveze;[2] by all which and some other sales here we hope to accomplish 400 churles of Sarques indigo before the ship's arrival. . . . .[3]

Thus fearing we have been over tedious (which hereafter by oftener advice we will endeavour to remedy), we entreat your Lordship's excuse, and with remembrance of our duties we humbly take leave and rest

At your Lordship's command,
Thomas Kerridge.
Thomas Barker.
Tho. Mitford.

Surratt, the 23rd July, 1616.

[1] A paragraph dealing with further negotiations with the local officials regarding the sum in dispute for customs, etc., is here omitted.

[2] Parwíz.

[3] The factors here relate the difficulties experienced in procuring the requisite certificates from the custom-house officers.

Postscript.—In the interim, Right Honourable, between the concluding and ensealing of our letter, there arrived a report of the arrival of a Christian ship before the bar of Surratt; whereupon we determined to detain our pattamar until we had certain intelligence of whence she was, her intents, and the reasons of her arrival here at such an unseasonable time of the year, with what else might be meet to advise your Lordship. Which that night we had means to effect by the coming ashore of three of her merchants, landed by their own boat in this alfandica, whom we invited to our house and, the better to effect our purposed designs, that night we made them our guests; of whom we learnt that their ship, called the Nassau, belonged to United States, being of the burthen of 300 tons; and that they left Christendom 37 months since, and that in September last they set sail from Bantam, freighted with all sorts of spices, stuffs, and dishes of China, and sundry other Southern commodities, being bound for the Red Sea; and by the way they touched at Zeilan, where they encountered a Porting[al] vessel laden with 200 bahars of cinnamon, who without resistance yielded. The Porting[als] being landed and their vessel manned with Hollanders, they brought her into the Red Sea, where the first port they arrived at was Shahar, so called by the inhabitants and in our maps Xale,[1] and there having landed three of their merchants, with all sorts of such commodities they were freighted with, the ship with her prize set sail for Moccha, where in five months' space they had sold all their cinnamon, and two-thirds of their own lading, ready money, gaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 for one, and there might have sold the rest but that they were encouraged by some Gooseratt ships they met there (in hope of greater gain) to come for this port; whereupon they set sail from thence, and having taken in their men at Shahar (who in one month had made sale of all their goods and to good reckonings), directed their course for Succatoria, intending there to have anchored until the coming of the easterly monsons, but the winds being adverse they in vain attempted it, so that they were forced as their last refuge to come to this port, where their danger is so imminent that the best experienced doubt their safety, for there is no security either in their coming

[1] See p. 278.

into the river, or riding in Swally Road. The Governor dares neither prohibit their stay nor give them entertainment, lest he either make them or the Prince his enemy, by exposing them to danger if he should interdict their coming into the river (the means of the security), or the Prince if he should admit strangers into his port without his approbation; and therefore he leaveth them to their own course. Only he hath sent them a pilot to inform them of the dangers of this river, and that though they should come in, yet he could not protect them from the violence of the Porting[als], who no doubt would attempt to take or fire them. He likewise refuseth to permit them to take any house, but propoundeth the buying of all their goods at the prices current, and will give them either ready money or commodities for the same. How they entertain this notion we know not, for that the merchants departed aboard to resolve thereof and are not yet returned. We are confident that they have great sums of ready money aboard, besides 190 tons of Southern goods, which will presently vend; so that if they be permitted traffic, they will not only greatly hinder our investments this present year, but will be so fleshed thereby that they will be encouraged to a second attempt, to the great prejudice, if not utter overthrow, of this trade. The course for prevention we leave unto your Lordship's discretion, whether meet to importune the King to prohibit them this port. In the meantime their own present danger and our dissuasive arguments are no mean discouragements for them. Howsoever, we hope at the arrival of the expected fleet to persuade the General to expulse them this place; for such is their practice against the English where or whensoever they have power to effect it. What the event will be time will produce; of which we shall not omit to advise your Lordship. Till when we leave you to the protection of the Almighty and rest

At your Lordship's command.

Surratt, the 26th July, 1616.

VI.

The Factors at Surat to the East India Company, November 2 & 7, 1616.[1]

HONOURABLE, Right Worshipful, etc., Our duties being remembered, it may please you to be advertised that by the Lion, who departed from hence towards England in February, 1615 [1616], we certified the occurrences of these parts during the time of Captain Keeling's being here; and in March following, by a ship of this place bound for Judda in the Red Sea, we wrote you more particularly of the said occurrences, directed to the English Consul at Alleppo to be conveyed unto you, which we hope he hath received and effected accordingly.[2]

By means of advice from Lucas Anthonisse, now at Messelapatan, of his intended departure thence with the ship Solomon about the fine November, the 28th of the last month we enclosed a transcript of the said letter to him,[3] to be conveyed by way of Bantan. A second copy you shall herewith receive, whereunto for the past we refer you.

Immediately after the dispeed of the said letter, John Crouther returned from Spahan in Persia, and arriving at Adjemere delivered the Lord Ambassador sundry instructions, copies of letters, and other observations of his travel, together with a firmaen or command from the King of Persia, directed to his viceroy, governors of his ports, etc., importing the fair entertainment of the English nation into any port or ports of his dominions[4]; which several it pleased his Lordship (though very lately) to send unto us, wherein, by letters jointly subsigned per Steele and Crouther, is confirmed the Persian's preparation to entertain the Turk, Sir Robert Shurlie's departure from Ormus and thence to Goa, very large encouragements in general and particular letters to Mr. Edwards, Mr. Aldworth, etc., for the sending of your ships and goods to settle trade and commerce in these parts of Persia, and of the current vent your commodities

[1] From a copy in *Factory Records : Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., part i., f. 109.
[2] For these letters, see p. 291. [3] See f. 101 of the same volume.
[4] The *farmân* has been printed by Purchas in his *Pilgrimes* (vol. i., p. 524).

(but especially cloth) will find there, as also the King's exceeding great desire to entertain traffic with our nation; of all which we hope you long ere this have received intelligence by Richard Steele, departed from thence for England, whereunto for present we refer you.[1]

Sir Robert Sherly by certain intelligence arrived in Goa, but proceeded not for Portingall as intended; whether restrained or for what other cause, we know not. Report affirms he had slender entertainment, and is gone from thence towards Messelapatan, to get passage by some other means for Christendom.[2]

And now, for that at Captain Keeling's departure, through the many base insolencies and disordered speeches of the then Governor (pretended to be by express order from his master the Prince), he seemed to apprehend some fear of the King or Prince's sinister intent in the point of our continuance (as appeareth by some clause in the copy of the consultation sent you by the Lion), you may please to understand that after the Lord Ambassador's entertainment by the King, complaining of the injuries done our nation, the said Governor (according as in our last advised) was sent for to the Court; where at the first, protected by his master (being indeed his chiefest favourite), he stood in the justification of his cause, suggesting (though in most of the particulars falsely) many offences to have been committed by our people, both at the water's side and here, during the time of the ships, to the prejudice of the Prince his customs, the abuse of these inhabitants, etc. Which caused his Lordship, for preservation of our nation's repute, in defence of the cause to have difference with the Prince (even in presence of the King) to an unknown height; wherein he so discreetly persevered as that the end hath gained him a fair and honourable reconciliation with the Prince, gracious respect and noble gifts from the King, and restitution for whatsoever the said Governor was to us indebted, or by way of bribes, pretence of payment or otherwise had extorted, the greatest part whereof is already received in ready money here, and the rest (by the said Governor's bill delivered his Lordship) due in short time. And for our satisfaction and clearing of what in Captain Keeling's consultation

[1] Steel reached England about May, 1616.

[2] Cp. *The Embassy*, p. 290.

was enjoined, he procured the Prince's firman unto the present Governor and Chiefs, confirming our reception and the Prince's particular affection, commanding fair usage and respect to all our people, free liberty of trade, and continuance of commerce by factories, etc., withal disclaiming whatsoever contrary to this had been falsely suggested by Zulphercarcan, the late Governor; which also for our further satisfaction (upon request to the Governor) was publicly proclaimed through the streets of this city. This we particularly insert for contradiction to all apprehension of doubt that the said advice might occasion.

You may also please to take notice that through the unaccustomed quantity of several goods landed out of your fleet under Captain Keeling's command, these parts have been so much glutted therewith as that all the proceeds of sales, both in this place and Brampoare, could not attain unto sufficient means for the accomplishment of above 400 fardles flat indigo of Amadabaz unto this present; part whereof is the proceed of 435 elephants' teeth, of which 335 were sold here at 64 ma [mudis] or thereabouts per maen, and 100 (upon Nicholas Banggam's advice) were sent for Brampoare for trial, which scarcely answered the price (the charge of transport considered) the rest were sold for here; in both places coming short of the hoped prices (computated with that of the former year) in our last advised, which by the Porting[al] trade into the parts of Cambaya since deceived our expectation in the past, and frustrateth our hopes for the future in the price thereof, which may yield about 60 ma [mudis] per maen the best, and the worser sort pro rata.

Of lead there had been sold since its landing at 8 to 8¼ ma [mudis] per maen 6,527 maens, viz. in sows 2,859, in sheet lead 932, and in bars 2,736; of all which sorts 1,000 maens were sent for a trial to Brampoare, where a small part remaineth yet unsold. Besides which we have here a rest of 10,361 maens in store, whereby you will perceive that the quantity in our last advised yearly to be sent is sufficient, if not with the most, for this place.

Of broadcloths landed, there hath been sold in all this King's dominions about 200 cloths, viz. 100 at Court, 30 at Brampoare, and 70 here, whereof 64 with a small quantity of other commodities

and 750 rialls species, amounting in all to 45,000 ma[mudis], were detained by the Customer for the Prince, of which some 34,000 ma[mudis] was due unto him for the last year's customs; the rest is yet unpaid, though we doubt not it shall be duly accounted. The remainder of this commodity in all the several factories is above 400 cloths.

Sword-blades, such as (amongst all the quantities left here) were anything good (being 200 blades) are sold at Brampoare to good content; the rest (to your extreme prejudice) remain, which, besides the time requisite for their sales, will yield very little, if anything.

Quicksilver is still an unfortunate commodity; for, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours, all that which was landed by Captain Keelinge and the greatest part of that received from Captain Downton is still unsold, except only 40 maens sent to Brampoare for trial and there sold for 135 rup[ees] the great mande; whereby the benefit is so small (in respect of the loss by leakage) that yet one year or two it were better forborne than sent.

Vermilion, though we had very little, yielded this year but 165 ma[mudis] per maen, and riseth and falleth in price as quicksilver, which is here chiefly spent by converting it into that commodity.[1]

The Moscovia hides are all sold, part whereof, by the small experience of Captain Keeling's merchants, were sold at 15 and 16 ma[mudis] per piece; the rest at the Court and Brampore have yielded 20 in 25, at which rates some three or four hundred of the fairest and largest would yearly sell.

Of the kerseys and baize landed one-third were sent to the Court, and there sold at reasonable good profit; one-third at Brampoare yet remaining unsold; and the rest detained by the Customer until a month since, when at clearing our accounts they were delivered, by which means they still remain unsold; whereof we suppose here may yearly vend some forty pieces of Devon and Northern kerseys, and 25 or 30 Coxall baize, sorted for colours as your cloth.

[1] The manufacture of vermilion from mercury still goes on in various parts of India. For a valuable note on the subject by Sir George Birdwood, see the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, April 6, 1900.

Your coral, whereof there came a small quantity, was so long detained in the Custom-house, that we have not had time since the receipt thereof to experience its true value in these parts. The prices we have yet been proffered exceedeth not the rates mentioned in your invoice; whereby it remaineth unsold for a urther trial.

Cases and bottles of strong waters, looking-glasses and knives are acceptable presents, but if any great quantities of either they are the less esteemed; of all which we have some remaining of those the last year landed, for further provision whereof the particular advice in our last may be your direction.

Glass-ware, through the exceeding quantity brought the last year, is altogether disesteemed; and the most of them by the careless landing, abuse in the Custom-house, violence of the sun, etc., are broken and spoiled; which therefore hereafter you may be pleased wholly to omit their sending.

For the cloths, etc., sold at the Court (the greatest part being for the King) the moneys are yet unreceived, and the factory at Agra (attending there in hope to barter cloth or receive money for investments) are altogether unfurnished to make any part of the expected provision for a ship's return, except their receipts be very speedy, whereof in their last, received yesterday, they gave us some hope.

Having thus presented to your view our small provision for returns, the quantities of the several commodities sold, and consequently informed you the particulars of each remaining, whereby you may perceive the slow despatch of your goods in general, we must yet add thereunto a further inconvenience unexpected. The 23rd July past there arrived at this port a Holland ship of burthen 300 tons, who in September preceding departed from Bantam, laden with sundry Southern commodities, bound for the Red Sea, and in her passage (near the coast of Zeilan) surprised a small Porting[al] vessel laden with some 200 bahars cinnamon, and (having first landed a part of her several commodities at Shahar or Xaley with two or three factors for its sale) with their ship and prize they proceeded for Moccha, where in the name of Eng[lish ?] (at least so thought to be) [1] they had fair

[1] See *The Embassy*, p. 410.

entertainment and courteous entreaty, and there made sale of all their goods (some few quantities of their severals only reserved for trial at Surrat) to three and four for one profit; and having quietly finished their business and cleared the country of all rests, they arrived here as aforesaid, and with permission of the Governor and Chiefs landing their remain of commodities, to the value of some eighty or ninety thousand ma [mudis], have here settled a factory.

The 30th August following they dispeeded away their ship with the proceed of their goods in ready money for Bantam, two of their merchants with attendants here remaining to attend the prosecution of their business. This relation we have thought necessary to insert, as well to leave to your judicious considerations what course to be observed for prevention of the ensuing prejudice which unavoidably depends on this co-rivalship in your trade, as also to give encouragements (by their precedent) for your order to the undertaking of the like voyage from Bantam to the Red Sea, and so for this place, which being well apprehended and followed will no doubt redound to your great benefit by the increase of your capital in these parts, that thereby your provisions for returns may be yearly made in convenient time, without which there is no considerable means how you shall defray this exceeding charge by so many ships and people in this country to so little purpose either for your benefit or reputations.

Of these particulars we have at large advised Captain Keeling and the factors at Bantam, by way of Messelapatan, directed to Lucas Anthonisse, intended by the Solomon thither; wherein we have not omitted to give them due information both of the prices and quantities of all Southern commodities here requested, to the end that they may the better be directed in the effecting that design for an annual supply to this place.

You may farther please to understand that the 25th September here arrived the Charles, Unicorn, James and Globe, thanks be to God, in safety. At the Cape they met the Lion homeward bound, who departed thence the 15th June; and wanting the Rose (whose company they lost about the bay of Biskaye) they dispeeded the Swan according to your order for Bantam.

The other four ships above mentioned short of Mohilla

encountered a Porting[al] carrack, with whom fighting (unhappy accident) the chief commander and four others of your fight[1] lost their lives. The carrack by this overmatch being distressed, either accidentally or wilfully by night fired and her people (as by the Eng[lish] is supposed) perished; but by letters from Goa it is related otherwise, they affirming it their own voluntary act to prevent the profit by her surprisal, and that most of the people were saved, part of whom they pretended to be arrived at Goa. The certainty is doubtful, though the loss on both parts too apparent. Their meeting, cause of fight, proceeding and ending, I refer to the relation of some other that better understands the manner of those passages.

Captain Joseph being deceased, the command succeeded to Captain Pepwell, by whom we received your Worships' letters, the invoice of goods laden upon the said fleet, and the copy of your letter by Captain Keelinge, the last of which in a letter dated the 18th February,[2] written aboard the Dragon, subsigned by John Browne and myself, we briefly answered, which also in our last general letter, the transcript by way of Bantam and this enclosed copy is inserted.

By survey of your cargazon we perceive the quantity of specie and several commodities laden in this fleet, whereto our reply for the present shall be brief and general, referring us for the particulars to our next occasion.

We doubt not ere this you have received intelligence of five chests specie and other commodities (according to your private instructions given the chief commander)[3] and dispeeded for Bantam, as also one chest remaining in the Rose; which deducted from the total of that commodity doth greatly lessen our expectation and desire of what were requisite for your occasions in these parts; whereof you may be pleased seriously to consider and by future provision prevent so main an inconvenience, lest by continuance it prove an unvaluable loss to you.

The quantities of the several commodities come in this fleet (to our griefs) augmenting the store remaining, hath occasioned

[1] Fleet? [2] See Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 9366.

[3] Some words appear to be wanting here; possibly we should read: 'transferred to the Swan at the Cape and dispeeded,' etc.

consideration for its sale elsewhere, lest the damage to you increase our care by an unprofitable balance, especially in your broadcloths, which for the most part will be utterly lost if landed in this place, here being greater store already than we can conceive means for their despatch these two years, in which time (notwithstanding our best endeavours for prevention) it is to be feared even some of them by worms, dust, etc., will receive detriment; besides which particular the several remains formerly advised enforceth resolution for relief in the premisses.

In regard whereof and sundry other respects tending to your desired and hopeful benefit, the honour and reputation of our nation, and good to the commonwealth, we have presumed on your approbation to attempt the establishing of a trade in Persia, by sending the James to the port of Jasques with several goods, as by the copies of the invoice, consultations, etc., concerning that affair herewith sent, you will particularly perceive. In which employment we have ordered Edward Connocke to be chief for your negotiations in that kingdom, until your farther pleasure be known therein, and have given commission for direction to him and the rest in this your business, hoping (as we heartily desire) they will so fairly demean themselves in all their endeavours as that they will deserve the trust committed unto them.

And now, for answer to your letter by this fleet received, in regard we purpose (by God's assistance) to be large in our reply to each particular by the ship Globe, intended from hence for England, we will collect and only touch such needful clauses therein for the present as we conceive may give you satisfaction.

And first, by what is already written you will soon perceive the small means we have in readiness to accomplish your and our own desires in the timely return of one of these your ships for England, which to effect our utmost endeavours shall be carefully expressed, both in quantity, quality and despatch, so far as the present means to be spared out of this fleet can possibly extend; for the effecting whereof we have already dispeeded 40,000 rialls for Amadabaz, where it is safely arrived, having also remitted by exchange to Agra for supply of investments there 4,000 rialls, and sent your factors to other places adjacent for provision of calicoes, etc., both for England and the Southwards.

Touching wafting the junks of this place to the Red Sea, it is fully answered by the conclusion of peace twixt this people and the Porting [als], who in satisfaction of what they had formerly taken have conditioned to let pass their ships for certain years without search, licence, or molestation.[1]

Concerning our fortifying in these parts, as it is apart from our employment so we refer us to the Lord Ambassador for answer in that point. Only this we think good to advise that you forbear the charge in supply of men for that business until you certainly know it be granted; for as yet there is nothing effected therein.

For coral it seems you have had large advice. What is done in the sale of that last year landed gives little encouragement for the sending of any great quantities futurely, wherein (by experience in the sale of that now come) our next advice shall give you certain direction.

And whereas you express a desire to make trial of Port Pequeno[2] for the settling of a factory, it cannot this year be attempted for want of small shipping, fitting that purpose; for which and many the like and other occasions (in regard of your Persian employment, etc.) it were very requisite you sent yearly a couple of small ships or pinnaces of about 100 or 120 tons, which may draw as little water as possible, yet of force for defence against frigates, etc.[3]

And thus, with our heartiest prayers to the Omnipotent for increase of your prosperity in this life and felicity in that to come, we commend you to His divine protection, and, humbly taking leave, do rest

Your Worships' servants,

Tho. Kerridge.

Surat, the 2nd November, 1616.

The invoice mentioned, in regard of some alteration since the finishing of our letter, is delivered the factor [s ?] to be sent under their packet.

Aboard the James in Swallye Road, the 7th November, 1616.

[1] See vol. iii., Introduction, p. xxxvii.

[2] Sátgáon, in the Húglí river.

[3] On December 12, 1616, the factors wrote to Roe: 'Here is not now fit shipping for the discovery of Port Pequino, which (according to your Lordship's information) we understand to be no fitting port for us. The Porting[al] hath a city on that part

VII.

Thomas Kerridge to Sir Thomas Roe, November 18 and 19, 1616.[1]

RIGHT Honourable, ...[2] We have much desired to send your presents, but other important business (as also the expectation of your answer) deferred our resolution until the receipt of your last, and were then dispeeding the James for Jasques, which to effect the 2nd present I went to Swally, and for other men's unreadiness was there detained (for his despatch) until the 8th; in which time I viewed the presents and resolved to have brought them with me, but in the interim understood the Customer intended to open them and to take such as he liked for the Prince his master, which caused me to defer their landing for a further promise from the Governor, etc., who the day of my departure Surrat were returned from that journey, whereof in a former I certified you.

With this resolution I returned to Suratt with two chests of money, having only in my company two factors and a couple of the ship's company for conduct of the said money; and coming near the river, it drawing towards night, being on horseback I outstripped the rest to provide a boat for our transportation, and found two at the shore's side, wherein other people were newly entered, but by no persuasion would stay for our transport over. About a guary[3] after, the rest of my company arrived with the money, when we holloaed and shot off our pieces, yet a long time could have no reply. At the last some answered there was no licence for our passage, and arguing the case (so well as the distance permitted) we resolved for the safety of our money to seek a lodging in some village adjacent; but seeing by our light

of Ganges [*i.e.* at Húglí], and with their boats command the river. We hear of another port, called Peepell [Pippli], about a day's journey to the northwards (*sic*) of the former upon the coast of Orishaw, belonging to this King, which reports affirms less dangerous and more useful for sale of our commodities; whereof it may please you particularly to inform yourself, and, approving thereof, procure the King's firmaen for that or any other of these parts against the next year, which this (for want of fitting shipping, etc.) is unlikely to be attempted.'

[1] From a copy in *Factory Records: Surat*, vol. lxxxiv., part i., f. 114.

[2] The first eight paragraphs have been omitted, as they contain nothing of special importance.

[3] Hind. *gharí*, meaning, as an interval of time, about twenty-four minutes. In ordinary Anglo-Indian parlance it is used as equivalent to an hour.

we departed, they holloaed us again, whereupon we attended long in hope, to as little purpose as before. So one of the sailors desired to swim over the river to advise our people of our being there, and on that shore met the preacher's boy and another, who of their own accord took a boat and bringing it over were presently pursued by a couple of boats full of armed men, who with pieces and arrows shot at them and coming near fell to blows; whereupon (their boats being somewhat near our shore) I, fearing some mischief to be done on our people by the multitude, waded into the river to part them and, the better to appease their fury, voluntarily entered their boats and commanded our people to the shore, proffering myself to go to the Governor to understand and argue the cause of this difference; which they were contented with. But in my passage over a third boat (likewise armed), understanding me to be there, some of their chiefs entered the boat where I was and abused me with very despiteful and reproachful terms, as dog, infidel, and the like, using me desperately as if I should not have lived to have spoken in mine own cause, took off my shash[1] and bound my hands behind me; whereat for the time I remained silent. And being landed at the Governor's stairs, I found him sat with all the chiefs and a multitude of attendants in arms; before whom demanding reason of these insolences and affronts and relating the manner of my coming and usage, he gave me little reason of the cause, other than the wilfulness of his people (at whom he railed and seemed to be greatly grieved and offended), covered my head with his Pambre,[2] which I refused. In which interim, at my first coming to their presence some others reviled me, and amongst the rest the present Customer, being armed, disgracefully and unmanlike thrust me with his bow, and notwithstanding the Governor's rebuke (almost

[1] Turban-cloth.

[2] Sir George Birdwood writes:—'Sir M. M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., M.P. for North-East Bethnal Green, and Mr. N. B. Wagle, a distinguished graduate of the University of Bombay, both confirm my view that "*pambree*" can be nothing but an early Anglo-Indian corruption for *pagri*, pronounced *pugree*, and usually spelled by Anglo-Indians "*puggry*," the Hindustani for turban, turband, turbant [the "*tulipant*" of Sir Thomas Herbert], the English variants, through the Turkish *tulbend*, more correctly *dulbend*, from the Persian *dulband*, [the Persian word now used for turban is *dustar*, and the Arabic *imamah*] meaning, literally, "twist-bound"; from which is also formed, as a doublet, through the Italian *tulipano* and *tulipa*, and the French

to opposition) he still insisted with threats, and I, ignorant of the least cause, could have no reason or audience. Whereat the Governor entreated me to accept a convoy to our house, which accepting, by the way (to my greater amazement) I saw at least

tulippe and *tulipan* [the *duliphos* of Gervase Markham], the English word tulip. Compare the passage in the First Canto of *Lalla Rookh* :—

" What triumph crowds the rich Divan to-day
With turban'd heads of every hue and race,
* * * *
Like tulip-beds of different shapes and dyes,
Bending beneath th' invisible West wind's sighs ! "

'In India—as, indeed, in all Eastern countries, particularly Mahometan—great is the veneration for the turban as a symbol of virility, authority, and worship; and the greatest indignity and insult that can be done a man is to pull off his turban. This is shown, in the most interesting way, by the numerous phrases in which the word *pagri* is used metaphorically, such as "*pagri-bandhna*," literally "to bind round [cf. the Hebrew *hávash*, Ex. xxix. 9; Lev. viii. 13] the turban," but meaning metaphorically, "to raise up to place," "power," "honour"; *pagri-utarna*, literally "to overturn, to [violently] lift, to knock off, the turban," *i.e.*, "to cast down from pride of position," "dismiss from preferment," "abase," "disgrace," "humble," "shame"; and *pagri-chapatna*, "to snatch off the turban," *i.e.*, "to cheat," "over-reach," "bilk," "diddle," and otherwise "meanly swindle" a victim.

'The turban of a Mahometan may, strictly, only be removed by himself, or his wife, and is always kept in a receptacle used for no other purpose, which she contributes to the furnishing of her husband's house on their marriage. Mahometans also consider it disrespectful to stand before a superior, or, in formal praise and prayer, before God with the head unturbaned; and a turban is always placed at the head of the graves of male Turks. If a Mahometan gentleman stumbles in walking, his first thought is to keep his turban on his head; and if he falls, and it rolls off, everyone rushes toward it with the shout, "Lift up the *Crown of el Islam*," while the poor owner of it is left sprawling in the dust. Hindus readily lay their turbans at the feet or on the lap of those they may be supplicating as superiors, or capitulating to as conquerors. Both among Hindus and Mahometans an intricate symbolism is observed in the form and colour of the turban, and it is the only article of dress proper which conspicuously and unmistakably indicates the nationality and religion, and caste (Hindu) and sect (Mahometan), of the wearer. This effective ritual is the simple explanation of the chromatic glory of the high shadowed streets of the great native polytechnical cities of Western India, such as Surat, Ahmadábád, and Baroda, and, in the great European emporium of many-languaged Bombay, of Bazaar Street :—

" The 'Merchant-town's' fair market-place,
Where over many a changing face
The pigeons of the temple flit,
And still the outland merchants sit
Like kings above their merchandise,
Lying to foolish men and wise."

The costume of the East is everywhere dignified and graceful; but its crown of grace and dignity is the turban; and nowhere is the magic of this superlative headdress so potent and splendid as in the seaboard Indian cities of Bombay and Surat.'

200 horse and I think 2,000 foot in arms; and coming home I found our people (some eight or ten in number) standing upon their guard, the rude multitude beating at our doors and throwing stones, whereof inquiring, they related the cause as followeth:

We having a long time purposed (for the better order in our house, as calling our people to prayers, etc.) to set up a small bell of some eight pounds weight, the carpenter of the admiral presented me with a small frame in form of a turret, about the bigness of a ship's lanthorn, which at my last being aboard (having some other business of his own) he carried up with him, and with advice of Mr. Leske[1] did set it on the outside of our common hall or meeting-place, which is a part of the same house wherein (at your being here) you lodged. It being thus set up (myself absent) the Cutwall[2] came to know what it meant; which having understood, he returned to the Governor with answer; whereat the whole multitude gathered and made an outcry to the Governor that their town was lost, and that infidels had taken possession thereof, alleging that the sign of the cross (which was nothing but a small vane with the Company's mark[3]) was an especial token of victory and winning the town. Which the Governor slighting, some of the chiefs (who were the first motives of this idle bruit) with the whole multitude flocked to his house, exclaiming against him, and said he had received a bribe from the English to betray the town; and then by circumstances brought him almost to believe there was some such intent of assault, and that the bell was set there for a watchword to give the alarum. Whereupon he with them ordained the Cutwall to pull it down, who coming to our house with some forty or fifty shot and an unaccustomed guard put our people in doubt and resolution to defend, yet permitted the Cutwall's entrance and entreated him kindly; but others rushing after him, swords were drawn for defence, they forced out and the doors shut. The Cutwall then in some fear delivered his message by way of entreaty for the pulling down of the bell, which our people with good terms desired might be deferred until my coming home to satisfy their doubts or perform their desires, with which answer he returned, and the Governor was reasonably satisfied.

[1] See p. 82.
[2] *Kotwāl*, native police superintendent.
[3] The Company's bale-mark is figured in vol. ii. (p. 206).

But the Magolls, who are his competitors in government and of more violent disposition, viz. Isacke Beage the Shawbender (our archenemy) and his brother Salley Beag the Divon, with the rest were impatient at this refusal, and by proclamation laid great penalty on our servants, forbidding them and all others our house. Whereupon towards night Mr. Leske went to the Governor and iterated what was delivered the Cutwall. He entertained him kindly and promised to revoke the proclamation; yet before they parted, distasting some comparisons, he arose from Mr. Leske in choler; about which instant it was my unhappy chance to arrive at the river's side. These last words settled a jealousy in the Governor and caused his misapprehension, which, malignantly and cunningly prosecuted by our foresaid enemies, intimated my coming to take the town; which also by the unadvised bringing of the boat confirmed him in that belief, and brought me to that exigent beforementioned.

The next morning (pretending great fear by an extraordinary watch all night) discerning the grossness of their error, they clouded their shame by insisting on the pulling down of the bell, which upon a private message from Abram Chan I instantly effected, and sent it to his house, to discover the palpable abuse to him and us, and soon after went myself; where he used me with much respect, excusing himself and expressing much sorrow and shame for the abuse, confessing that the malice of our enemies had persuaded him to such credulity, averring withal that this same night they had desired his affirmation to the Prince of these falsities, which he refused, yet for their satisfaction could not permit the setting up of the bell, nor did I seem to regard it; and for testimony of the continuance of his affection, forced me to accept a present of Pambrees and linen, with injunction for his sake to remit the offence and not to advise your Lordship, instantly ordering the Cutwall to re-proclaim our former liberties prohibited, which notwithstanding by means of our said enemies (the Cutwall being their creature) was deferred a day or two to save their credits; in which time resoliciting the premisses, I had many times conference with these our enemies in presence of the Governor, where, to colour their malice with pretence of justice, they instanced disorders of our people, alleging many suggestions

which we know most false and disproved. Such as were truth we acknowledged and defended not, but consented to and ordered their punishment.[1]

The first of these was by one of the ship's people, soon after their arrival, who (out of ignorance, not knowing the custom) stopped and opened a dowled[2] in the street to see what it contained, but seeing therein a woman desisted from further wrong and let it pass; whereof the Cutwall complaining, I satisfied him with a bribe and sent the party aboard, conditioning (as well to awe our own people as to disclaim all protection of disorders) that whatsoever English should be found disordered, abusive, or abroad at unseasonable hours, he might freely apprehend him and cause him to suffer according to the nature of his offence; which he not long after as eagerly prosecuted against another of the ship's company, who, being distempered and found sleeping on a stall in the street, he imprisoned and made him pay for his release. These particulars we have thought good to insert, that your Lordship may confidently reply to any their malicious objections; for whatsoever else they shall allege is merely suggested and false.

These things being thus opened before the Governor, and he with his tent in the fields ready for some intended expedition against certain Ratesboots[3] or robbers, he wrote to the Customer to make friendship with us, requesting me also for him; yet in the same interim the Cotwall, by order from the said Isack and Salley Beage, privately called our brokers to give them the names of all our servants and such others as frequented us. Thereby again they presently left our house, and I complaining, the Governor earnestly forbad and by entreaty dissuaded the Cotwall, etc., from such courses, who promised he would desist. The Customer also, with many Moors' promises of faithless affection, sought reconciliation, which I denied not, save only refused to come to his house, yet met him on equal terms in the Custom-house, where according to their glozing manner he sought peace, whereto (in regard of our business) I willingly yielded, and received some part

[1] This attack on the English factory is referred to in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (p. 365).

[2] A covered litter (Hind. *doli*); the 'ferocious doolie' of the well-known story.

[3] Rájpúts.

f our elephants' teeth, which this month had been detained in ıe alfandica.

To add to these troubles, the very day of my departure from the hips, the Portin [gal] armado of frigates belonging to Diu surrised our landlord's [1] vessel laden with forty tons of the fleet's ask filled with water for their provision; in requital whereof the ieneral the next day took divers boats, amongst which they ghted on a frigate of Diu, that went from this place laden with undry provisions for supply of the Goa frigates now at Cambaye. Vhereof complaint being made, the Shawbander sent for me to nswer thereto; where reasoning the cause, he would have fathered he goods on some merchants of this town (who before had disclaimed t), which to his face disproving, he furiously threatened, if we rocured not his delivery, to complain to the Prince that we went bout to undo his port, by taking such merchants as traded here. showed him then the conditions of our peace, and of the Portng [al's] last agreement, one clause whereof was that they had romised not to molest any of the people of Surratt, nor so much as o enter their river for certain years, yet now had taken a boat of heir town within two courses of their city, with many other llegations to aggravate the abuse and dishonour to their King; vhich he answered as if he were their agent to persuade us to the ike thraldom. He then accused us to have taken six or seven thers, whereto I answered that whatsoever damage should happen o any of the King's subjects in kind we would here satisfy, and hat I was certain the General had not taken any, though haply letained some thinking them to be Porting [als]. This answer lid but renew his rage, for he would have no Porting [al] taken n this coast. Hereupon I promised to inform the General, vhich that very instant I did, who as soon released the boats, as y the copy of his answer hereinclosed you may perceive.

The 17th ditto the convoy returned from Amadabaz, whom I rdained to come with their goods to Jangeerpore,[2] thereby to void their coming into the city and to prevent disorders or offence in our people, which these by most impudent reviling and daring

[1] Khoja Arab.

[2] 'Jehanguirepore, a village on the other side of the river' (Kerridge to Pepwell, 18 Nov., 1616: f. 113 of the same volume).

abuses invite them to; from whence in person with some of the Customer's officers I dispeeded them, and sent their goods to the Custom-house at Surrat, to avoid the least clamour; in which despatch I was detained all night on the other side the river, lest I should buy so dear a passage as the other. In which interim there happened another brawl; the manner followeth.

Bar[tholomew] Merlin[1] misbehaving himself in our house, as beating our servants, etc., upon rebuke for the like offence, about some twenty days since left our house and went to the ships; where being weary (as never well in any place) returned, and the same afternoon (being Sunday) in my absence the chief of the Dutch and some other of the ship's company walking on the Castle green, a coach of whores with full speed encountered them, and with their oxen almost overturned one of them,[2] who (by animation of Merlin) struck the coachman with sword and scabbard over the pate, and he presently leaving his coach closed with him, whilst another with a truncheon felled him down, and the Dutchman (forcing the truncheon from his hands that gave the blow) requited him with the like, whereat the rest of our people made peace; but proceeding homewards the coachman and his crew had procured a whole multitude to follow them, and Merlin (coming behind the rest as guardian) was assaulted, which caused the rest to draw and defend themselves, yet were fairly quit of the broil, only Merlin (lamed in one hand of an old sore) oppressed with a multitude was surprised, soundly beaten, and carried to prison; at the very instant whereof, without further inquisition, by the Shawbender's command it was proclaimed that any person of what condition soever that should serve or come near the English, sell them bread, water, or the least kind of sustenance, should be held as the King's enemies and most severely punished; which caused in our house a general fast.

[1] Sometimes called Merland. He was engaged by the Company as an attendant upon Roe at the solicitation of the Lord High Admiral. He appears to have misbehaved on the way out, for Keeling, writing from the Cape, pronounced him the 'veriest villain in the world' (vol. ii., p. 190). Probably he was the page whose evil-doings were complained of in Baker's letter to Roe in the last volume (p. 271).

[2] In the letter to Pepwell already quoted, Kerridge says that the coachman 'according to custom gave warning to make way, but Philip Hill, who was one of the company, and pretending he understood not, suffered himself to be jostled by the oxen.'

Ever since such as have greatest bellies are gone to the ships to fill them, and we with our cattle and the King's dogs[1] pine here in misery. Of this after my return I conferred with Myer Jeofer, who then going forth of town told me the Shawbander etc. of the Prince's officers were hungry[2] and intended to slave us to their wills; which they do reasonable well, for all this day there is general watches about our house, that imprison and lay hold of all that do but look into our door, nor is there any here from whence we can expect relief. The Banyans are tyrannised over by the Magolls and they cleave to the strongest, who is a mischievous, malicious devil, would have me daily to sallam[3] and acknowledge him, and this five months privately underhand hath hindered the sale both of ours and the Dutches' goods, will buy them himself at his own price, and retail it at his pleasure. He expresseth not this, yet his actions declare his intents, and all men fear to meddle with our commodities, whereof before his coming we sold good quantities.

Two years since one of our brokers deceived the Company in their investments in Amadabaz, which being the last year discovered, it being a matter of moment, he fled from thence and appeared not till the Dutches' arrival hither; at which time he put himself into their service, whereupon, as well for satisfaction of the moneys he oweth us as for restitution of some part of the many sums he hath cozened, and to prevent his discovery of our secrets to the Dutch, I apprehended him and (the Governor being then sick) purposed to have held him prisoner that night in our house; whereof this Shawbander understanding, imperiously by a couple of pyons[4] commanded him from me, which I fairly refused, and wrote him reasons for his detention and my purpose to deliver him next morning to the Governor; whereat he sent again with threats, that we did force, and by often messages reasoning the cause, he declared his office of Amin[5] required him to hear and determine differences, promising he would redeliver him after examination; whom certain days he kept, and afterwards without our consent or knowledge (for some bribe) released him; which for that time, it being the heat of your Lordship s

[1] The dogs sent in the fleet to be presented to the Mogul. [2] For bribes.
[3] Salaam. [4] Messengers (vol. iii., p. 337). [5] Judge.

troubles, made me forbear to solicit. So the party in despite of us serves now the Dutch.

After this he[1] yet bought 1,000 maens of lead, would have us sell it a half ma [mudi] per maen cheaper than other men paid for it, which refusing we were enforced to abate a quarter, for none else durst buy it. Yet we seemed to do it willingly to gratify him, for which he promised present payment; yet three months were passed ere we could be fully satisfied, since which we have not sold for one pice. Many come to our house and would buy, but plainly tell us fear of him restrains them, yet dare not avouch it; for it is now ten days since we took earnest for 300 maunds, which for fear they dare not receive, but desire to have it delivered them aboard the ships; which also is his practice against the Dutch and divers others, engrossing commodities and forcing the owners to sell at his pleasure, who neither dare refuse or complain of the abuse.

This his malice increaseth to us for want of bribes and presents; yet never any Shawbander heretofore received or expected any. He also envieth at our respect with Abram Chan,[2] and in his malice slandereth us with invented falsities, sends beggars to rail on us for our religion, accuseth us to piss in and spit at their church (being indeed a little too near us, yet never have offered the least abuse). We seldom pass the streets but beggars rail in insufferable manner, I am verily persuaded set on of purpose to provoke us to some mischief, which if we should as rashly adventure on as they give cause, would cause much confusion to them and us, which but for respect to your Lordship's place and person above, could never be endured. Most of our people lament against me for entreating the General to restrain them hence, and when they are here have less entertainment than else I should give, for fear of distemper; yet the father of these mischiefs (in his hatred) would force belief that I patronize them, and cries out by their not punishing I uphold them in their evils; yet never spoke for or relieved either the first or the last now apprehended.

Thus we have been large in the discourse of our troubles, whilst the Cutwall (who is their creature and of their late election) setteth strict watch about our house that none relieve us with so

[1] The Sháhbandar. [2] The Governor.

much as water or the least necessary, the rather (as we think) to prevent all means of advice of these their most gross and insufferable injuries; so that now we enjoy leisure to write at large, which this long time we have wanted. If their advice outstrips ours, we doubt not truth will take place and your Lordship endeavour reformation, which can never be whilst so many proud heads sway so poor a body, the revenues whereof, justly accounted to their master, all other comings-in (without extortion) will scarcely maintain one of them.

Your presents are all in the Custom-house, which when we can procure thence and have liberty to follow our business, we will endeavour their dispeed with all expedition; in the meantime we are enforced to entreat your patience.

The boat which the General detaineth we see no reason for her delivery. He is very desirous to keep her, wants a boat for one of his ships; which these multiplicity of Governors will by no means consent to sell him, though we have proffered twice the value.

Having thus almost tired myself as well in the relation as suffering these insolences, I come now to certify you of late advice received from Callicute,[1] the contents whereof you may be pleased to perceive by the direct copy of what received thence, which hereinclosed we send you.

And with our prayers for your continual happiness, with the remembrance of our duties, we commend you to the Almighty's protection, and humbly taking our leave, do rest

At your Lordships' command,

Tho. Kerridg.

Tho. Rastell.

Surratt, the 18th November, 1616.

Postscript: Right Honourable, We prepared this letter, purposing to have sent it yesterday, but by the several watches attending on our house we had not means to procure conveyance. The Shawbander (still insisting in his villainy) prevents us of the least provision for nourishment, whereby we are constrained to leave the city except we will consent to deliver up the Portingall frigate, to live in a thatched house and leave this (which he terms our

[1] Probably the letter printed at p. 316.

fort) for himself or any at his pleasure to pilfer and rob us of our goods; which miseries rather than to suffer, we have resolved to leave our house, our cattle being almost starved from want of food.[1] So commending you to God we rest as before.

Surratt, the 19th November, 1616.

VIII.

Edmund Sayers to [Captain John Saris ?].[2]
Firando in Japan, December 4, 1616.

WORSHIPFUL Sir, My humble duty always remembered. Having so fit an opportunity I could not choose but trouble your Worship with these few lines, I being but newly arrived here in Firando, of a hard and tedious voyage from Siam, which went in a junk of the Right Honourable Company's, Mr. Adams being master and myself factor in her. Having bought more goods than we could lade, we freighted another junk for Japan. Mr. Benjamin Fary, being

[1] The English were not allowed to leave the town, but the boycott was so far relaxed as to permit them food and drink. The embargo on trade was still continued, however; and in the end (about December 7) they were forced to surrender the captured frigate.

[2] This letter, reprinted from *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i., p. 409, describes Sayers' desperate voyage from Siam to Hirado, to which reference has frequently been made in the foregoing pages. Purchas does not give the name of the person to whom the letter was written; but as the one which immediately precedes it in his volume was evidently addressed to Captain Saris (from whom Purchas derived most of his materials regarding the Japanese factory), it is probable that the above was also written to him.

The exact form of the writer's name has been a matter of doubt. He is frequently called 'Edward' in contemporary documents, while his surname is variously given as 'Sayer,' 'Sayres,' 'Sairs,' and 'Saris.' As a result, in the index to the *Calendar of State Papers: East Indies*, 1513–1616, some entries relating to him appear under 'Saris, Edward,' and some under 'Sayer, Edmund.' He himself signed 'Edmond Sayers,' the final *s* being disguised under a flourish.

He went out to Japan with John Saris, probably as his personal attendant; and there is little doubt that the two were related (perhaps as uncle and nephew).

principal of the factory of Siam, thought it fit for me to go in this junk for Japan, for the safeguard of the Worshipful Company's goods; wherein I took my voyage, the year being far spent, that we were from the first of June to the seventeenth of September between Siam and Shachmar, with much torments and foul weather, having lost twenty of our men with sickness and want of fresh water. The greatest occasion of this first was for want of a good pilot; for we had a China pilot, which had no understanding of navigation; for when he was out of sight of the land, he knew not where he was nor what course to take. Then he falling sick was not able to creep out of his cabin, I being forced, with the small skill I had, to do my best; and with the help of God brought the junk safe to Shachmar, where we arrived the seventeenth of September, having but five men able to stand on their legs; coming so late to Firando that I could not go this year to Siam, but the Company's junk is gone with Mr. Wil. Eaton and two English pilots, whose names are Robert Burges and John Burges.

Your Worship's servant till death,
Edmond Sayer.

ADDENDUM

To Note on page 241.

Since the note on page 241, relating to 'Newty' and 'Jerry' indigo, was printed, the following memorandum has been received, through Dr. Watt, C.I.E., from Mr. H. A. Baily, of Etáwah :—

'In the North-Western Provinces, in fact from Sháhábád up to the north, before canals were started, all indigo was sown in Ashar, either in the Mirgisra or Adra nackat, generally on the first rain, *i.e.*, about 20th June to 1st July. This crop, called *Asharee* indigo, was also generally called *Nawda* or *Naudha*. This was cut in September, and then the land was carefully looked after, the indigo pruned in February or March, and a second cutting obtained in the next July. A third cutting would be got *from very good lands*. Probably when indigo was sown on more or less virgin soil a third cutting was generally obtained. Owing to the appreciation of the land and the greater density of population, indigo has been cut out of the North-Western Provinces, except when it is sown as a scratch kharif crop. Thirty years ago thousands of acres of *Khunties* were to be seen in the cold weather in Northern India; now you will not find one to speak of. *All* indigo is irrigated and out of the land in September.

'*Jeri* or *Jerry*, I think, is a local name for *Khunties*, from *Jhir* or *Jir*, "a root."'

To this may be added that it is quite possible that, after all, 'Newty' is merely a variant of *Khunti*, mentioned above as the usual word for an indigo crop. As we have already seen, native words were often metamorphosed in the strangest manner by the early factors, and the transition in the present instance would not be by any means an exceptionally violent one.

INDEX

NOTE.—*The letter* n *signifies that the reference is to a footnote*

LONDON:
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
Her Majesty's Printers,
DOWNS PARK ROAD, HACKNEY, N.E.

CORRIGENDA IN VOL. IV.

At p. xxviii., ll. 20 and 22, *for* Nealson *read* Eaton.

LONDON:
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
His Majesty's Printers,
DOWNS PARK ROAD, HACKNEY, N.E.